THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF ORDERIC VITALIS

VOLUME I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION
BOOKS I AND II
(SUMMARY AND EXTRACTS)
INDEX VERBORUM

EDITED
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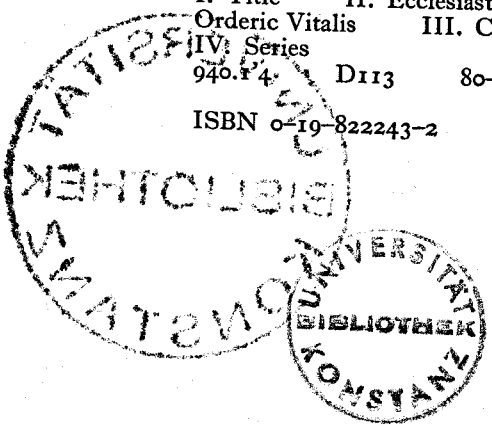

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PREFACE

WHEN, in 1954, I first offered to edit Orderic's *Ecclesiastical History* for Nelson's Medieval Texts, I calculated that the work would take about ten years. This proved to be a serious underestimate; and, looking back now, I realize how much the completion of the edition even in twenty-five years has owed to the support and encouragement of scholars, family, and publishers. The magnificent nineteenth-century edition of Auguste Le Prévost and Léopold Delisle first provided the indispensable basis of scholarship on which all later editions must rest. Delisle's interest in Orderic was lifelong; and in his old age, as conservator of manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale, he passed it on to a very young visitor to the manuscript room, whom he welcomed with great courtesy. The young man was Peter Morrison, who later became known to scholars all over the world as Dr. H. P. Morrison of Nelson's. One of his particular wishes as a publisher was to bring out a new edition of Orderic; indeed this wish was so strong that when my offer to provide one was accepted he wrote to me, 'It was Orderic who founded the Medieval Texts series.'

My own interest in Orderic began by chance, for I was born just outside the boundary of the parish of Atcham, and so missed by only a few hundred yards being baptized in the same parish church. But my decision to edit the *Ecclesiastical History* came many years later, and was due not to any coincidence of birth but to respect and admiration for the unique and absorbing record of church history and Norman achievement that Orderic left as his life's work. The edition was made possible thanks to the imagination and courage of the founders of the Medieval Texts series: the late Dr. H. P. Morrison, the late Professor V. H. Galbraith, and Professor Sir Roger Mynors. In the event all six volumes have been published by the Oxford University Press, who ultimately took over the series as the Oxford Medieval Texts. Over the years five general editors have given me generous help: Professor Galbraith, a friend for over forty years, provided inspiration for all my medieval studies; Sir Roger Mynors and

Dr. Michael Winterbottom in turn, by their learning and patience, saved me from countless errors in the Latin text; Dr. Diana Greenway made many suggestions for improving the last two volumes; and Professor Christopher Brooke, who alone spanned the whole enterprise, saw all six volumes through the press; his wide learning and sure judgement were always available to me, and he gave his time and learning with unstinted generosity. It has been a pleasure, too, to work with the Oxford University Press; and to all who have brought their skills to a long and exacting task I extend my sincere thanks, in particular to Mr. Peter Sutcliffe, to the learned and patient readers of the Press, and to the Printer.

My original plan, to publish a full text and translation of all thirteen books of the *Ecclesiastical History*, has been modified in this final volume. Books I and II have been printed in an abbreviated form, without translation. This was due partly to the escalating costs of publication, but even more to the very different nature of these two books, which make them virtually a work apart. Partly a chronicle compiled from other sources, partly a summary of apocryphal acts of the apostles of doubtful historical value, they differ from the other eleven books of Orderic's *Ecclesiastical History* as Bede's *Chronica maiora* differs from his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Many readers of this series of texts will never consult them; and it is hoped that the indications of Orderic's sources given here will be sufficient for the needs of any scholars who may wish to use the material to investigate medieval historiography and hagiography more deeply. A second change has been made possible by the development of computers in the past twenty years: the inclusion of a selective, but still lengthy, *Index verborum*. For the production of the complete index and the concordance on which it is based, I am indebted to the staff of the Language and Linguistic Computing Centre in the University of Cambridge: to Dr. Martin Porter, who prepared the first volumes, to Mrs. Monique Johnson, Miss Judi Sharnbrook, Mrs. Frances Dawson; and in particular to Dr. John Dawson, who is in charge of the running of the Centre, and has given me the benefit of his wide experience of the use of computers in the service of scholarship. A selection of words of particular interest, historical and linguistic, has been made for the index, and the computer tapes are available at the

Centre for consultation by any who may wish to make a fuller linguistic study of the text.

Over the years I have received help on particular topics from more scholars than it is possible to name individually; to all I am most grateful. I wish in particular to record my thanks to the following: the late Miss Evelyn Jamison, my first tutor at Lady Margaret Hall, who helped me with the history of the Normans of southern Italy almost up to the day of her death; the friends with whom I have been associated in meetings of the Semaine de Droit Normand, and especially Professor John Le Patourel and Professor Jean Yver; my colleagues in Cambridge and elsewhere, notably Professor R. H. C. Davis, Professor J. C. Holt, Dr. Michael Lapidge, who has advised me on Latin style and vocabulary, and helped in the compilation of the *Index verborum*, and Dr. R. C. Smail, for help with the identification of places in the crusader states.

I am indebted to the following for permission to use manuscripts in their keeping, and for supplying me with photographic reproductions: the Board of the British Library; the Prefect of the Vatican Library; the Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford, and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; the Dean and Chapter of Hereford; the authorities of the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, the municipal libraries of Alençon and Rouen, and the Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique. Travel to visit archives in France and Italy was assisted by grants from the British Academy and the Leverhulme Trustees. I am greatly indebted to the Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation for an invitation to spend a month as scholar-in-residence at their Study and Conference Center in the Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio; and particularly to Dr. William C. Olson, the Director of the Center, and Mrs. Olson, who did so much to make it a scholars' paradise; it was there that I enjoyed the uninterrupted peace necessary to begin writing the General Introduction. Professor R. Allen Brown and the Boydell Press have kindly allowed me to reproduce here material published in the Proceedings of the 1978 Battle Conference.

Lastly, I have two special debts: to my College, Clare Hall, for the Fellowship that has enabled me to enjoy the stimulus and intellectual companionship of its lively society for the past ten years; and to my husband, who has supported my research and

given me unfailing encouragement since the work was begun a quarter of a century ago, and without whose help it could never have been completed. It is dedicated to him.

Marjorie Chibnall

Clare Hall, Cambridge
April, 1979

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ABBREVIATED REFERENCES

AA SS	*Acta Sanctorum*, ed. J. Bollandus and others (Antwerp, Brussels, 1643 ff.).
AA SS Ord. S. Benedicti	*Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1668–1701).
Anselm, *Opera*	*S. Anselmi opera omnia*, ed. F. S. Schmitt, 6 vols. (Edinburgh, 1946–61).
Arator	*Aratoris subdiaconi de actibus apostolorum*, ed. A. P. McKinlay (*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, lxxii, 1951).
ASC	*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*
ASE	*Annales Uticenses* (Le Prévost, v. 139–73).
AS hymn.	*The Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (Surtees Society, xxiii, 1851).
Augustine, *De cons. evang.*	Augustine, *De consensu evangelistarum libri quattuor*, ed. F. Weihreich (*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, 1904).
Augustine, *In Iohannem*	*S. Augustini in Iohannis evangelium tractatus cxxiv* (Migne, *PL* xxxv).
Bede, *Chron.*	*Bedae Chronica maiora* (*De temporum ratione*, c. 26, in *MGH AA* xiii).
Bede, *HE*	Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford Medieval Texts, 1969).
Bede, *In Lucam*	*Bedae venerabilis in Lucae evangelium expositio* (*Corp. Christ.* cxx, 1960).
Bede, *In Marcum*	*Bedae venerabilis in Marci evangelium expositio* (*Corp. Christ.* cxx, 1960).
Brev. apost.	*Breviarium apostolorum* (*Analecta Bollandiana*, ii. 9–10).
Brev. Sar.	*Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum*, ed. F. Procter and C. Wordsworth, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1879–86).
BSAN	*Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie.*
Constable, *Letters of Peter the Venerable*	*The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. Giles Constable, 2 vols. (Harvard Historical Studies, 78, 1967).

Corp. Christ.	*Corpus Christianorum series latina.*
Delisle, *Matériaux*	L. Delisle, 'Notes sur les manuscrits autographes d'Orderic Vital', in *Matériaux pour l'édition de Guillaume de Jumièges*, ed. J. Lair (Paris, 1910).
Delisle, *Notice*	L. Delisle, *Notice sur Orderic Vital* (Le Prévost, v. pp. i–cvi).
Dudo, *De moribus*	Dudo of St. Quentin, *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, ed. J. Lair (Mém. Soc. Ant. Norm. xxiii, Caen, 1865).
Eadmer, *HN*	*Eadmeri historia novorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule (RS 1884).
Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*	*The Life of St. Anselm by Eadmer*, ed. R. W. Southern (Nelson's Medieval Texts, 1962; repr. Oxford Medieval Texts, 1972).
EHR	*English Historical Review.*
Eusebius, *HE*	Eusebius, *Ecclesiastica Historia* (Latin translation of Rufinus), ed. E. Schwartz and T. Mommsen (Leipzig, 1903); English translation, ed. H. J. Lawlor and J. E. L. Oulton, 2 vols. (London, 1927–8).
Fauroux	*Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie* (911–1066), ed. Marie Fauroux (Mém. Soc. Ant. Norm. xxxvi, Caen, 1961).
Florentinus	F. M. Florentinus, *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* (Lucca, 1668).
FW	Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe (Eng. Hist. Soc., London, 1848–1849).
GC	*Gallia Christiana* (rev. edn., Paris, 1715–1865).
GP	William of Malmesbury, *De gestis pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton (RS 1870).
GR	William of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (RS 1887–9).
Gregory, *Hom. in evang.*	*S. Gregorii xl homiliarum in evangelia libri duo* (Migne, *PL* lxxvi).
Gregory, *Moralia*	*S. Gregorii moralium libri* (Migne, *PL* lxxv–lxxvi).
Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou*	O. Guillot, *Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au xi^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1972).
Haskins, *Norman Institutions*	C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge, Mass., 1925).
HFS	*Historia Francorum senonensis.*

H. Hunt.	Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Thomas Arnold (RS 1879).
Isidore, *Chron.*	*Isidori iunioris Hispalensis chronica maiora* (*MGH AA* xi).
Isidore, *Etym.*	Isidore, *Etymologiarum libri xx*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (*Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca oxoniensis*, 2 vols., 1911).
Jerome, *De nom. heb.*	*S. Hieronymi liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* (*Corp. Christ.* lxxii, 1969).
Jerome, *De vir. ill.*	*Hieronymus liber de viris inlustribus*, ed. E. C. Richardson (Leipzig, 1896).
Jerome, *In Matth.*	*S. Hieronymi commentariorum in Matheum libri iv* (*Corp. Christ.* lxxvii, 1969).
Jumièges	*Jumièges: Congrès scientifique du xiii^e centenaire*, 2 vols. (Rouen, 1955).
Keil	H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, 7 vols. and suppl. (Leipzig, 1855–80).
Laporte	Jean Laporte, 'Tableau des services obituaires assurés par les abbayes de Saint-Evroul et de Jumièges', *Revue Mabillon*, xlvi (1956), 141–88.
Le Prévost	*Orderici Vitalis ecclesiasticae historiae libri tredecim*, ed. A. Le Prévost (Société de l'histoire de France, 5 vols., Paris, 1838–55).
Lipsius and Bonnet	R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. i (Leipzig, 1891).
LP	*Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, 3 vols. (Paris, 1886–1957).
Mansi	*Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. D. Mansi (Florence, Venice, and Paris, 1759 ff.).
Martyrium Petri	*Martyrium beati Petri apostoli a Lino episcopo conscriptum* (Lipsius and Bonnet, pp. 1–22).
Marx	Guillaume de Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. Jean Marx (Société de l'histoire de Normandie, 1914).
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae historica*
AA	*Auctores antiquissimi*
SS	*Scriptores.*
Migne, *PL*	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, ed. J. P. Migne.
Mombritius	Boninus Mombritius, *Sanctuarium seu vitae sanctorum*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1910).

Monodiae	Guibert of Nogent, *De vita sua sive monodiarum suarum libri tres*, ed. Georges Bourgin (Paris, 1907).
Musset, *Abbayes caennaises*	Lucien Musset, *Les actes de Guillaume le Conquérant et de la reine Mathilde pour les abbayes caennaises* (Mém. soc. ant. Norm. xxxvii, Caen, 1967).
Nortier	Geneviève Nortier, *Les bibliothèques des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie* (Bibl. d'hist. et d'archéol. chrétienne, ix, Paris, 1971).
Passio (Marcellus)	*Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli* (Lipsius and Bonnet, pp. 119–77).
Passio S. Pauli	*Passio sancti Pauli apostoli* (Lipsius and Bonnet, pp. 23–44).
PD *HL*	Paulus diaconus, *Historia Langobardorum* (*MGH, Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum*, Hanover, 1878).
Ps.-Isid.	*Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, ed. P. Hinschius (Leipzig, 1863).
Pseudo-Abdias	*Historia apostolica*, in *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, ed. J. A. Fabricius (Hamburg, 1719).
Rabanus, *In Matth.*	Rabanus Maurus, *Commentariorum in Matthæum libri octo* (Migne, *PL*, cvii).
Recognitiones	*S. Clementis Romani 'Recognitiones' Rufino Aquilei. presb. interprete*, ed. E. G. Gersdorf (*Bibliotheca patrum ecclesiasticorum latinorum selecta*, i, Leipzig, 1838).
Regesta	*Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, vol. i, ed. H. W. C. Davis (Oxford, 1913); vol. ii, ed. C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne (Oxford, 1956); vols. iii and iv, ed. H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis (Oxford, 1968–9).
RHF	*Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. M. Bouquet *et alii*, nouv. édn., ed. L. Delisle, 24 vols. (Paris, 1869–1904).
Richer	*Histoire de France*, ed. R. Latouche, 2 vols. (Les classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Âge, Paris, 1930–7).
Roman de Rou (Holden)	*Le Roman de Rou de Wace*, ed. A. J. Holden (Soc. des anciens textes français, Paris, 1970–2).
RS	Rolls Series.
R. Tor. (Delisle)	*Chronique de Robert de Torigni*, ed. L. Delisle,

	2 vols. (Soc. de l'histoire de Normandie, Rouen, 1872–3).
R. Tor. (RS)	Robert of Torigny, *Chronicle*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, iv (RS 1889).
Sigebert	Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronica*, in *MGH SS* vi.
Southern, *Medieval Humanism*	R. W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970).
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.*
VCH	*Victoria History of the Counties of England.*
Wolter, *Ord. Vit.*	Hans Wolter, *Ordericus Vitalis* (Wiesbaden, 1955).

Manuscript collections

Alençon	Bibliothèque municipale, Alençon.
Bibl. nat.	Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.
BL	British Library, London.
Rouen	Bibliothèque de la Ville, Rouen.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Léopold Delisle's numerous writings have been listed by Paul Lacombe, *Bibliographie des travaux de M. Léopold Delisle* (Paris, 1902); *Supplément 1902–10* (Paris, 1911). The following relate to Orderic:

'Notice sur Orderic Vital' (Lacombe no. 109); first printed in Volume v of Le Prévost's edition of the *Ecclesiastical History*, and still important for the wealth of detailed information about the manuscripts of Saint-Évroul. It has been reprinted in *Orderic Vital et l'abbaye de Saint-Évroul* (Fêtes du 27 août 1912, Société historique et archéologique de l'Orne, Alençon, 1912), pp. 1–78, together with Delisle's letters to Léon de la Sicotière discussing certain manuscripts at Alençon. Delisle also contributed to Volume v of Le Prévost's edition a very detailed and valuable general index and a geographical index, and an edition of the *Annales Uticenses* and a number of the early charters of Saint-Évroul.

'Vers attribués à Orderic Vital', *Annuaire bulletin de la société*

de l'histoire de France (1863), 2e partie, pp. 1–13 (Lacombe no. 225).

'Lettre à M. Jules Lair sur un exemplaire de Guillaume de Jumièges copié par Orderic Vital', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, xxxiv (1873), 276–82 (Lacombe no. 462).

'Notice sur vingt manuscrits du Vatican', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, xxxvii (1876), 471–527 (Lacombe no. 560).

'Vers et écriture d'Orderic Vital', *Journal des Savants*, August 1903, pp. 428–40 (Lacombe no. 1947).

'Notes sur les manuscrits autographes d'Orderic Vital', *Matériaux pour l'édition de Guillaume de Jumièges*, ed. J. Lair (Paris, 1910), pp. 7–27 (Lacombe nos. 2094, 2095).

The most substantial monograph on Orderic published since Delisle's time is Hans Wolter, *Ordericus Vitalis* (Wiesbaden, 1955), which discusses his work with particular reference to the monasticism of Cluny.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

PART I. ORDERIC VITALIS AND SAINT-ÉVROUL

(i) *Orderic's early life*

THE *Ecclesiastical History* of Orderic Vitalis, though rarely directly cited in the Middle Ages, left its mark on historical traditions through the work of Wace and Robert of Torigny, and became from the time of its publication by Duchesne one of the most popular of Norman histories. Incorporated almost literally, with all its legends and rhetorical speeches, in the histories of Freeman and Halphen, it was of major importance in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century view of the period, and guaranteed full acceptance of the epic of Norman achievement.[1] Even when examined more critically it remains one of the most valuable and readable of twelfth-century historical works, fundamental to our understanding of feudal society, social custom, and monastic culture; and full of vivid, often penetrating, portraits of the lives and characters of men and women, from kings and queens, lords and bishops, to simple knights, stipendiary soldiers, and even humble villagers.

The author himself is known only through his own work: in particular the *Ecclesiastical History* itself, and to a lesser extent his occasional verses and the evidence of his handwriting in the manuscripts of Saint-Évroul copied by him. He recorded the main stages of his life in the preface to Book V, and in his autobiographical epilogue; there is no other reliable source of information about him. A set of verses ascribed to him, which may seem to contain personal echoes, must be rejected as evidence because it follows too closely themes taken from the *Confessions* of St. Augustine.[2]

[1] See below, iv, p. xiii; and for a further development of this subject, Ralph H. C. Davis, *The Normans and their Myth* (London, 1976).

[2] L. Delisle, *Vers et écriture d'Orderic Vital* (Paris, 1903), reprinted from *Journal des Savants*, August 1903, pp. 428–440. If the poem contains any auto-

He was born near Shrewsbury on 16 February 1075, probably in the parish of Atcham, and was baptized in St. Eata's church at Atcham on the following Holy Saturday, by the priest Orderic, who gave him his own name and stood godfather to him.[1] His father, Odelerius of Orleans, the son of Constantius, was one of the three learned clerks who accompanied Roger of Montgomery, vicomte of the Hiémois and later earl of Shrewsbury, to England and served in his household and chapel; his mother was an Englishwoman of whom nothing is known.[2] The first ten years of his life were passed in the region that he later described as 'the remote parts of Mercia';[3] a county on the borders of Wales, only very recently pacified, and in the throes of great social and religious change.

The Norman conquest was a slow process,[4] and took time to penetrate Shropshire. Earl Edwin was first left in possession of Mercia; he rebelled in 1068, and though he made peace with William he was again involved in rebellion, this time with Earl Morcar, and met his death in 1071. Shrewsbury was then given to Roger of Montgomery, who already held Chichester and Arundel. In the course of the next decade he distributed confiscated lands to his vassals, and ecclesiastical benefices to the clerks of his household; he also played a major part in bringing about the establishment of Benedictine monasticism in the province. Shropshire was, at the time, wholly devoid of regular monastic life;[5] even the former double monastery of Wenlock had declined into a house of secular clerks. The wealthy prebends of St. Chad's and St. Alkmund's in Shrewsbury, and the churches

biographical echoes, they are common to all infants. The lament of the writer of the poem that he disturbed his parents' rest by his cries has nothing specifically personal; whereas the verses in which he accuses himself of theft and apostasy seem to be an attempt to express the thought of Augustine poetically. H. Wolter (*Ord. Vit.*, pp. 50–1) made some attempt to squeeze biographical information out of the poem, but did not press the point, and failed to show the resemblance to the *Confessions*.

[1] See below, iii. 6–8, 142–50; vi. 466–70. Although the modern convention is to write the name as Orderic, the correct English form is Ordric.

[2] Orderic frequently calls himself 'Angligena'; since his father was French his mother must have been English.

[3] Below, iii. 6; 'Ego de extremis Merciorum finibus decennis Angligena huc aduectus'.

[4] See John Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire* (Oxford, 1976), ch. 2; and below, ii. 228, 234.

[5] *VCH Shropshire*, ii. 18–19.

of Morville and Bromfield, served to support secular clerks, many of them non-resident. Orderic's gloomy picture of the state of the English church before the coming of the Normans may have owed as much to his childhood memories as to anything he read later about the Danish invasions and the sack of the great Benedictine monasteries. 'For a long time', he was later to write, 'monasticism had been declining on that side of the Channel, and monks differed very little from seculars in their way of life. They wore no habit and took no vows, they indulged in feasting and held private property.'[1]

In the first phase of the Norman settlement Roger of Montgomery made full use of church prebends to provide for the clerks of his household, Odelerius among them. The latter's share included the church of St. Peter in the suburb outside the east gate of Shrewsbury, and a house beside it where he may have lived with his family. A small wooden church had been founded by Siward, son of Æthelgar, a noble Saxon whom Orderic calls a grandson of King Edward;[2] its history illustrates the overlapping rights of Saxon and Norman, and the gradual change to the Norman pattern. In 1080 Orderic was put to school in Shrewsbury to be instructed by Siward, a priest whom he calls both highly born and learned, who may have been a kinsman of the founder, was certainly English, and appears from Orderic's language to have served the church.[3] But Odelerius had been granted the proprietary rights which had once belonged to Siward son of Æthelgar; and the previous English proprietor was ultimately compensated when Earl Roger of Montgomery gave him the church of Cheney Longville in exchange for St. Peter's.[4] The transformation was completed when a Norman Benedictine monastery rose on the site; the abbey grew round the parish church and the nave remained parochial.[5]

[1] Below, ii. 246–8, 'Destructis monasteriis monastica religio debilitata est: et canonicus rigor usque ad Normannorum tempora reparatus non est'.

[2] Below, ii. 194.

[3] Below, vi. 552.

[4] *The Cartulary of Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Una Rees (Aberystwyth, 1975), nos. 1, 35. The date of Roger's grant of compensation is not known; he may have been influenced by the claim successfully put forward by Ascelin, son of Arthur, at the funeral of William the Conqueror in 1087 (below, iv. 106) to be compensated for the site of the monastery of St. Stephen's, Caen, which had been his father's patrimony.

[5] For the history of the abbey see *VCH Shropshire*, ii. 30–7.

Odelerius had been, his son tells us, closely associated with monks from his youth.[1] He was born probably about 1034 and his name suggests that he was educated in the schools of Orleans; but he had grown up at the time of the upsurge of Benedictine monasticism in Normandy, and had possibly lived for a time in one of the mixed communities that existed when monks took over a church from clerks, or had been associated with the Montgomery household for part of the time between 1050 and 1060 when the family monasteries of Troarn and Séez were being founded. Orderic may be right in claiming that his influence was important in the foundation of Shrewsbury Abbey. He visited Rome *c.* 1082, and at the shrine of St. Peter vowed that he would replace the wooden church of St. Peter at Shrewsbury with a stone building; a year after his return, and possibly under his influence, Earl Roger came with his chief barons to the little church and, in a ceremony which young Orderic must have witnessed, laid his glove on the altar and vowed to found an abbey there. Odelerius renounced his claim to the church and made a modest contribution to the endowment. Four years were to pass before the building was sufficiently advanced for monks to come from Séez and begin regular life there in 1087; and though Odelerius was resolved that he and at least two of his three sons should ultimately take monastic vows, Orderic was not destined either for Shrewsbury, still too little established to receive a child oblate, or for the rudimentary Cluniac priory that Earl Roger had just refounded at Wenlock.[2] Provision had already been made for him in the abbey of Saint-Évroul, where Odelerius, perhaps in the course of his recent journey to Rome, had given thirty marks of silver as a free-will offering to secure his reception.[3] For five years, from 1080 to 1085, he remained at school under Siward, learning to read Latin, most probably by the traditional method of committing the psalms to memory, and helping with the services in the church. Possibly he also began learning to

[1] Below, iii. 144, 'A secretis monachorum a iuuentute mea diutius extiti: et mores eorum familiariter rimatus edidici'.

[2] *VCH Shropshire*, ii. 18, 30, 39–40.

[3] Below, iii. 146. The question why Odelerius sent his son to Normandy is less insoluble than Johannes Spörl suggests (*Grundformen hochmittelalterlicher Geschichtsanschauung* (Darmstadt, 1968), p. 131, n. 55), if one remembers that there was virtually no fully established monastery in Shropshire until a few years later.

write.[1] In the summer of 1085, when he had reached the age of ten, an opportunity came to send him to the cloister for which he was destined. A monk named Reginald, perhaps one of the monks of Séez who was helping to build the new abbey, or a monk of Saint-Évroul travelling round to supervise the scattered properties of the house in England, was about to return to Normandy.[2] Odelerius put his first-born son into Reginald's charge and, in the words of Orderic in one of the most personal and moving passages in his *Ecclesiastical History*,[3] weeping, sent him away into exile for love of God and never saw him again. Whatever the motives for his decision, and whatever its incalculable spiritual consequences, it undoubtedly enabled his son to become one of the greatest of Norman historians.

Had Orderic remained in Shrewsbury there was little chance of a monastic education that could have given his talents an opportunity to develop. His younger brother Benedict became a monk there a few years later, as did his father after the death of Earl Roger; but there was as yet no established monastic school. Odelerius, already a man of learning, or one of the monks brought from Séez may have been responsible for the brief narrative of the foundation, part of which was incorporated in an early charter of the Abbey;[4] time was needed to establish a tradition of learning, a library, and a school where oblates might acquire more than the basic knowledge essential for monastic life. There were centres of culture and nurseries of historians at Worcester, Malmesbury, and other great English houses; but Odelerius had no contact with any of these. Saint-Évroul, chosen as Orderic's spiritual home partly so that he should be removed from the distractions of family ties, proved in fact to be the place where his receptiveness to different influences was best able to flourish. It was an intellectual meeting-ground for various rich traditions; moreover it was situated in a region where conflicting feudal interests ensured that the monks could never be even partially insulated from the realities of political life. Orderic remained there, apart from occasional journeys or periods of residence in one or other of its dependent priories, until his

[1] Anglo-Saxon runes occasionally slipped naturally from his pen in copying English manuscripts; see below, p. 202.

[2] One of the monks of Séez was called Reginald; see below, iii. 148.

[3] Below, vi. 552.

[4] See *The Cartulary of Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. Una Rees, pp. xiii–xvi.

death; fifty-six years after he arrived there, a tearful and bewildered child of ten, 'like Joseph in a strange land' unable to understand the language, he completed his life's work, the thirteen books of the *Ecclesiastical History*, and finally laid down his pen.

(ii) *The feudal background*

Saint-Évroul was founded by two great families, the Giroie and the Grandmesnil, whose rise and decline seemed to justify the use of one of Orderic's favourite metaphors, that of the wheel of fortune. They were exposed to the social tension common to almost all feudal families: the need to provide for sons and daughters out of a patrimony that must continually expand to be adequate. Since they were surrounded by neighbours as acquisitive as themselves, they had little choice but to support the winning side in any civil strife, or see their wealth and prestige whittled away; too often they failed to choose the winning side. The great Norman expansion across western Europe, southern Italy, and the near east was carried out to a great extent by surplus sons: trained knights seeking to acquire or enlarge a patrimony and establish their children securely. The Giroie made their fortune in the second quarter of the eleventh century by supporting the Norman dukes in wars on the Breton frontier; but their establishment in lands on the south-west confines of the duchy, towards Maine and Perche, drew them into a double allegiance to Geoffrey of Mayenne and Robert of Bellême.[1] These powerful lords were struggling to establish castles in the valley of the Sarthe; and the house of Bellême, dominating the direct approach from Anjou into Normandy,[2] was not entirely free from ambition to build up a power independent of both Normans and Angevins. The Giroie found themselves the vassals of two lords who were continually at war with one another; by inclining towards the lords of Mayenne they were drawn into a virulent family feud that lasted more than a century. The foundation of Saint-Évroul, inspired partly by the pattern of charitable endowment becoming normal in the social class to which they had risen, partly by a genuine desire to secure the prayers of their

[1] For the Giroie family see below, ii, pp. xlii–xliii, 14–16, 22–38, 58–66, 78–82, 122–4.

[2] See below, ii. 362–5; O. Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou*, i. 82–6.

own monks, a refuge in their old age and a final burial place, may also be seen as a step towards establishing their territorial power. The forest of Ouche was a region still only partially settled and cultivated, where invasion and strife had blurred or even obliterated old civil and religious boundaries. By planting a monastery there and giving it the churches and tithes of their villages round about they were both establishing a nucleus of peaceful settlement and drawing the region firmly into the bishopric of Lisieux, away from the bishopric of Séez ,which was then in the hands of the Bellême family. Motives for monastic foundations were always complex; the tradition recorded by Orderic that it was William Giroie who persuaded his nephews Robert and Hugh of Grandmesnil to found a monastery, not at Norrey as they had intended, but in a partly restored church in the forest of Ouche, where monks of Bec-Hellouin had just taken up residence, suggests a strong wish not merely to found a family monastery or to restore an ancient church property, but to establish the centre of family piety and endowment in a place where the family had feudal ambitions.[1]

The Giroie reached the peak of their prosperity about the middle of the eleventh century; they sent out sons to fight and settle in Apulia, and clung tenaciously to the secondary centre of family estates round Saint-Céneri-le-Gérei, on the river Sarthe; the sons took no part in the conquest of England. It happened, however, that the marriage of Hadwise Giroie to Robert I of Grandmesnil linked their fortunes with those of a family already among the great magnates of Normandy and still rising.[2] The children of Robert and Hadwise included Hugh, who had married a daughter of the count of Beaumont-sur-Oise, and Robert, later second abbot of Saint-Évroul, as well as daughters who married into the families of Montpinçon, Sai, Courcy, and Ivry in Normandy, and Hauteville in southern Italy. Hugh helped in the defence of the Vexin frontier as castellan of Neufmarché-en-Lyons, subsequently shared in the conquest of England, and was one of the great landholders of the Domesday survey, with widely scattered estates centred in Leicestershire.

[1] See M. Chibnall, 'Ecclesiastical patronage and the growth of feudal estates at the time of the Norman conquest', in *Annales de Normandie*, viii (1958), 103–8.

[2] See genealogical table, below, ii, facing p. 370.

But he came under the shadow of rebellion in his old age, and his descendants in one way or another lost both their reputations and their grip on the family estates.

Orderic is reticent about the causes of their decline; the eldest son, Robert, saw his patrimony diminish in spite of three successive marriages into prominent Norman or Manceaux families; Ivo lost the English estates to the rising lords of Meulan, later earls of Leicester; and even Orderic's loyalty could not gloss over the ignominy of William, Ivo, and Aubrey's flight from Antioch during the first crusade.[1] William's acquisitions in Apulia were lost by his sons through their involvement in rebellion there; and his departure for Italy had never been viewed with favour by William the Conqueror. In the early days of the Norman ascendancy in England rulers had good reason to discourage their vassals from adventures in the Mediterranean world. Knights were needed to defend the expanding frontiers and keep order in regions where civil strife was endemic; those who sought fortunes in southern Italy, or joined expeditions to Spain or the Balkans, ran the risk of forfeiting at best the royal favour and possibly even their fiefs at home. In the end, since the utter rooting out of a family from its patrimony was repugnant to Norman custom, both Saint-Évroul's founding families survived with diminished glory: a younger branch of the Giroie at Saint-Céneri-le-Gérei as revered patrons of the abbey, and the Grandmesnil on the family estates in western Normandy. The patronage of their dependent English cell at Ware passed to the former rivals of the Grandmesnil, now earls of Leicester.[2] During the period of nearly a century covering the foundation of the monastery and Orderic's life and work the feuds and wars in which the two families were involved to their cost formed an important part of the background to his narrative.

The abbey was the centre of a network of dependencies that widened its feudal contacts. Many of the priories established for communities of monks sent out from Saint-Évroul were in the frontier regions.[3] Two at least began as castle priories, situated in the marches of Normandy: Neufmarché-en-Lyons, a fully conventual priory endowed by Hugh of Grandmesnil and William

[1] Below, iv. 338–40; v. 98; vi. 18.
[2] Below, vi. 18–20, 489 n. 4.
[3] For the dependent priories see below, iii, pp. xviii–xx.

of Roumare as successive castellans,[1] and Moulins-la-Marche, a small cell established by the turbulent lords of Moulins.[2] Noyon-sur-Andelle, founded by the count of Évreux within a few miles of a royal frontier castle in a previously uninhabited place, may have owed its origins to other motives.[3] Sometimes, indeed, gifts explicitly met the need to secure settlement in districts devastated by war and threatened by attack as long as property remained in lay hands. This need was strongly felt outside Normandy, in provinces where the Church, and not the duke of Normandy, was the principal agent in promoting peace; but in Normandy too monasteries played their part under the duke.[4] The tiny cell of La Chapelle and the fully conventual priory of Parnes in the war-torn Vexin rose in a region where special charter privileges had to be granted to secure new settlers.[5] The priory of Maule, in the Île de France, owed its original foundation to the zeal and medical skill of the monk Goisbert of Chartres, a friend of the lords of Maule; but, on some estates later given to the priory and plundered by the local lords, it required all the influence and persistence of the monks to enable settlers to survive and continue to cultivate their holdings.[6] The church of Marchainville, which also became a small priory on the confines of Normandy and Mortagne, was given by another friend of Goisbert, Foucher, canon of Chartres, and flourished in a troubled region.[7]

Two other priories, Noron, near Falaise, and Auffay, between Rouen and Dieppe, were in the heart of Normandy; and Ware was in England, at the chief residence of the lords of Grandmesnil. For dependent priories, as for the mother abbey, the motives behind foundation were never purely feudal. Vassalage might influence the direction of gifts; and it was probably through his lord, Roger of Montgomery, that William Pantulf became a friend of Abbot Mainer and first gave the churches of

[1] See below, ii. 130; vi. 380.
[2] See below, iii. 132, 133 n. 2.
[3] See below, vi. 146–8.
[4] Cf. J. F. Lemarignier, 'L'exemption monastique et les origines de la réforme grégorienne', in *À Cluny, congrès scientifique* . . . (Dijon, 1950), p. 327; idem, 'Structures monastiques et structures politiques dans la France . . .' in *Settimane di studio*, iv (Spoleto, 1957), 396–7.
[5] See below, ii. 150–4.
[6] See below, iii. 202–4.
[7] See below, iii. 150–4.

Noron to Saint-Évroul to found a priory, though ironically his later gifts were inspired by gratitude for the abbey's protection when he was charged with the murder of his lord's first wife, Mabel of Bellême.[1] The strength of the monastic reform movement in Normandy frequently contributed to the new foundations; monks replaced canons at Auffay and Neufmarché-en-Lyons. Saint-Céneri, where a small cell was later established, was both a former Merovingian monastery and a Giroie patrimony.[2]

The monks of Saint-Évroul were at all times in close relations, spiritual and feudal, informal and legal, with local lords. 'Free gifts' might in effect be the exchange of a tiny share in a patrimony, or tithes and churches, for the war horse that enabled a landless knight to embark on a career at arms, or a landed knight to carry out his duties.[3] The abbey had too, from the time of its foundation, certain feudal obligations. The service of two knights was owed from the fees of Bocquencé and Culley (Rabodanges); there can be little doubt that knights were already established in these places, owing service to the duke, when Robert and Hugh of Grandmesnil and William Giroie gave the lands to the abbey at its foundation.[4] The service was then somewhat fluid and ill defined; in the abbey's early days the turbulent brothers, Baudry and Viger of Bocquencé, were for a time handed over to Arnold of Échauffour to be disciplined, and he demanded far heavier duties, particularly of castle-guard, than the monks had ever required. After Baudry returned to the abbot's vassalage he did homage and received a promise that his service would never again be alienated.[5] By the reign of Henry I feudal obligations were more clearly defined; but twelfth-century records, which speak in terms of the establishment of a barony, must not be taken as correctly describing the feudal relationships of the abbey's earliest years.[6] From the first, however, the abbot held

[1] See below, iii. 154–62.

[2] See below, iv. 156.

[3] See the charters printed in Le Prévost, v. 184, 192–4. Samson of Culley (p. 193), who received a horse, may have been one of the abbey's own knights.

[4] See Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, pp. 10–14. Haskins's conjecture that the lands already owed knight service is reinforced by the fact that Bocquencé appears to have been a secularized property of the first monastery of Saint-Évroul; see below, ii. 34 n. 1; iii, p. xvii.

[5] See below, ii. 82.

[6] Cf. the charter of Henry I (*GC* xi. instr. 204–10; *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hubert Hall (3 vols. RS 1896), ii. 626).

his own court, in which feudal business might arise alongside all the other transactions involved in land-holding.[1] Where the nature of the business was a 'free gift', involving spiritual benefits, transactions normally took place in the chapter-house, with donors and their household retinues attending alongside the monks.[2] Patrons and vassals were at home in the abbey and its priories, and mixed freely with the religious.

Besides this, lay lords had their share of rights verging on the spiritual. Investiture was never to become a burning issue at Saint-Évroul, but the abbey was in the general protection of the duke of Normandy. He confirmed elections, or even intruded his own candidate, and put the first abbots in possession of their temporalities by handing over a pastoral staff, which might be the staff of any bishop who happened to be present;[3] subsequently a bishop would confer spiritual authority by blessing the new abbot. By these two ceremonies a distinction between spiritualities and temporalities was made from the start; but there was some confusion of symbols, and this must have been all the greater if investment by the duke with the bishop's staff took the place of homage, of which there is no record. To disentangle the spiritual from the temporal, at least conceptually, was the work of the reform movement, just beginning to touch Normandy when the abbey was founded. At all times, however, throughout Orderic's lifetime, the abbey was firmly enmeshed in the feudal world.

(iii) *The abbey of Saint-Évroul and its school*

The date of the formal restoration of Saint-Évroul, according to the foundation charter, was 1050. But this document was a pancarte of which no early copy survives, and its precision is deceptive.[4] The process of founding any monastery in the eleventh century often occupied several years; a pancarte might

[1] See below, ii. 62–4, 82.

[2] Some of the earliest charters of Saint-Évroul (printed, Le Prévost, v. 182–95) are preserved on a charter roll; almost all the transactions took place in the chapter-house.

[3] A full account of elections at Saint-Évroul is given by Jean Yver, 'Autour de l'absence d'avouerie en Normandie', *BSAN* lvii (1965 for 1963–4), 271–9; see also below, ii. 74, 90–4, 144–6.

[4] See below, pp. 65–75.

be altered to include grants made both before and after the year of the dating clause, as the histories of the abbeys of Caen and Shrewsbury, among many others, illustrate.[1] The site was to some extent prepared before William Giroie and the Grandmesnil brothers decided to establish a new community there. A Merovingian foundation had existed in the forest of Ouche for over two centuries; partly Columbanian in character, it had consisted of scattered huts of the *laurae* type and several churches.[2] During the civil wars of the tenth century the monastery had been sacked, the relics carried off, the community scattered, and the endowments secularized. Some of the relics later turned up in Orleans and Rebais. Exactly when the last of the 'canones' of this community[3] ceased to serve the churches is not known; but it is certain from the legends that for a time in the early eleventh century religious observance ceased altogether, and the buildings began to fall into disrepair. The restoration of the churches of St. Peter on the banks of the Charentonne and St. Mary (Notre-Dame-du-Bois) on the hill above began in the second quarter of the eleventh century.

If Orderic's narrative, not entirely clear at all points, is compared with charter evidence there seems no doubt that two churches were involved. Ralph Fraisnel, son of Thorulf, whose vassal, Wazo of Montfort, began the work of restoring a church 'in honour of St. Mary', was the lord whose sons later sold the church of St. Mary to the new abbey 'as the monk Placidus had held it'.[4] The church of St. Peter, also restored about this time, was in the fee of William Giroie; and two aged priests, Restold and Ingran, were living there when he decided to found an abbey. Restold, a married priest from the Beauvaisis with a son named Ingran, had been there since the restoration of one or both of the churches. The two priests between them may have served both; but Placidus has to be accounted for and may have served St. Mary's. There is some confusion in Orderic's narrative between

[1] See below, iii, pp. xx–xxiv; Musset, *Abbayes caennaises*, pp. 25–34; V. H. Galbraith, 'Monastic foundation charters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries', in *Cambridge Historical Journal*, iv (1932–4), 210–19.

[2] For its history see below, iii, pp. xv–xviii.

[3] They were the recipients of a diploma of Charles the Simple in 900; see M. Philippe Lauer, *Recueil des actes de Charles III le Simple* (Paris, 1949), pp. 74–6.

[4] Below, ii. 36; iii. 332.

an altar of St. Mary in the church of St. Peter and a church of St. Mary. William's first impulse was to entrust the restoration of religious life to the monks of Bec-Hellouin, the monastery in which he had taken refuge from the world after his blinding and emasculation by William of Bellême. When he resolved to found a new abbey, Lanfranc and three monks had already arrived to restore the service of God in the church of St. Peter, and an exchange was therefore arranged with the monks of Bec-Hellouin, who were compensated with the manor of La Roussière. The status of the 'monk Placidus' in the church of St. Mary at this time is a matter for conjecture; possibly he was one of the many priests who, in the period of monastic revival, agreed to enter the monastery to which the church they held was given. If he was not a kinsman of Restold, and had held the church from its restoration, Orderic must have confused legends relating to two churches.

What is certain is that a stone church was already in existence and four monks of Bec were occupying the site. Provision for a larger independent community might have been made relatively quickly. Duke William formally approved the foundation and granted the first privileges some time in 1050, and a small group of monks under Thierry of Mathonville, formerly prior of Jumièges, arrived from Jumièges in the same year. Thierry was blessed as abbot on Sunday, 7 October 1050.[1] The first stages of foundation had probably taken place about a year earlier. In describing the endowment Orderic said that in the first year of the foundation William and Robert Giroie and Hugh of Grandmesnil, with their kinsmen and vassals, came to an agreement on the property they would give or offer for sale to the abbey;[2] the provisions of the great pancarte then follow. To make chronological sense the 'foundation' mentioned here must, if the statement 'in the first year' is correct, have occurred in late 1049 or early 1050. Full religious life would have begun immediately after Thierry's blessing as abbot.

[1] This date seems certain. The date 'iii nonas octobris' given by Orderic in Book III (below, ii. 18) must be a mistake, since Sunday did not fall on 5 October in any year between 1046 and 1059; but it fell on 7 October in 1050; and this is the date given both in his interpolations in William of Jumièges (Marx, p. 178) and in a summary of Norman history made when he was collecting material for the chronicle in Book I (below, iv. 351).

[2] Below, ii. 30.

Abbot Thierry, a gentle and saintly man and a scholar, devoted himself to making provision for the liturgical and spiritual sides of monastic life, and to training new monks of every type, from learned priests and grammarians to simple countrymen who were barely capable of learning their letters.[1] There is no record of any building in his day, and the conventual offices were probably constructed of wood. After one of the founders, Robert of Grandmesnil, became a monk under Thierry friction between the two men began to disturb the community. The root cause was Thierry's failure to provide for the material side of life, though his reputation for saintliness was such that Mabel of Bellême and her husband, Roger of Montgomery, invited him to send a few monks and supervise their new foundation at Séez.[2] Among Robert's first actions after Thierry's death on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land was to plan to build a fine new basilica in place of the original, roughly built little church, both too small for a community of monks that was soon to be forty strong and too humble to satisfy a man of his rank and spacious thinking.[3] But the hostility of Duke William towards his family drove him into exile, and with a handful of monks he went to his kinsmen in Calabria; in due course he persuaded them to found the abbey of Sant' Eufemia, of which he became the first abbot.[4] The work of building a new church at Saint-Évroul began under his successor, Osbern, and was completed under Mainer (1066–89), who also provided a new cloister, dormitory, refectory large enough for all the monks to take their meals together, and other monastic offices.[5] Finally in 1099, half a century after the foundation had been begun, the consecration of the new church took place.[6]

From the time of its foundation in 1050 the abbey enjoyed a reputation for learning as well as piety. Monastic schools up to and to some extent after the twelfth century developed a course of study which, while having much in common with the curriculum of cathedral schools, differed greatly in emphasis.[7] The basis, as in all early medieval education, was an adaptation of the liberal arts inherited from antiquity; but considerable use was

[1] Below, ii. 42–52.
[2] Below, ii. 48, 66–72.
[3] Below, ii. 86–8.
[4] Below, ii. 90, 94–102.
[5] Below, ii. 132–4, 146–50; iii. 240.
[6] Below, v. 264–6.
[7] For the curriculum and methods of the cathedral schools see *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. Frederick Behrends (Oxford Medieval Texts, 1976), pp. xxviii–xxxvi.

made of the programme of studies outlined in Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* and Cassiodorus' *Institutes*, as well as of the works of the early Christian encyclopedists and Carolingian scholars. A strong tradition of monastic studies, adapted to monastic needs, grew in the course of centuries. The main concern was with *lectio divina*, the understanding of the Scriptures, spiritual meditation, and the liturgy.

Most monks could read when they entered the cloister, even if they came as child oblates; their first reading book was normally the psalter, which was learned by heart; to some extent their literary training continued through the patient assimilation of the Bible and works of devotion.[1] The tradition of learning through the constant reading of devotional works was central in monasteries from the earliest times up to the thirteenth century.[2] An anonymous monk of the late twelfth century laid down, for the benefit of monks who had only the barest rudiments of literacy when they made their professions, a programme of study that would have been equally acceptable a hundred or more years earlier.[3] They were to begin with the historical books of the Old Testament in a recommended order, reading them through three or four times with attention to the literal meaning; to help in understanding them the histories of Josephus and Hegesippus should be added, and hard words might be explained by reference to the *Etymologiae* of Isidore and Jerome's *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*. The prophetic and wisdom books should follow; next the New Testament, with assistance from the *Liber de concordia evangeliorum*[4] and one or two more recent works, leading up to Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* and *De civitate Dei*.

No doubt some grammar, based on traditional secular studies, was included in the scheme of most monasteries. Cluny, as its library catalogue shows, had a substantial minority of classical

[1] The psalter is called 'Das eigentliche Lesebuch des frühen Mittelalters' by B. Bischoff, 'Elementarunterricht und *Probationes pennae* in der erster Hälfte des Mittelalters', in *Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of E. K. Rand*, ed. L. W. Jones (New York, 1938), p. 10.

[2] See J. de Ghellinck, 'Bibliothèque', in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, i. 1589–1601. J. Leclercq, *L'Amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu* (Paris, 1957), gives a masterly survey of monastic studies and aspirations.

[3] *Epistola anonymi ad Hugonem amicum*, in Migne, *PL* ccxiii. 713; P. Delhaye, 'L'organisation scolaire au XII^e siècle', in *Traditio*, v (1947), 211–68.

[4] Probably Augustine's *De consensu evangelistarum* is meant.

texts in addition to the school-books relating to the liberal arts.[1] Guibert of Nogent confessed to having been tempted into composing verses in the style of Ovid during his early studies at Saint-Germer, before giving his mind to commentaries on the Scriptures and the writings of Gregory the Great.[2] St. Anselm, to whose influence Guibert attributed his more serious later studies, admitted to having great difficulty in teaching elementary declensions to children, but urged one young monk of Bec who was visiting Canterbury to take advantage of the skill of his teacher there, and to study Virgil and other authors he had not read with Anselm.[3] In all Norman monasteries of the late eleventh century we may expect to find a common core of studies, as well as individual interests peculiar to each one.[4] The library of Saint-Évroul and the surviving writings of its monks indicate the studies pursued by the monks in the first century after the refoundation.

When Abbot Thierry of Mathonville, who had been trained at Jumièges under William of Dijon's pupil Thierry, brought the nucleus of a new community from Jumièges to Saint-Évroul it included one or two good scribes, and the abbot himself trained at least eight others in the new monastic school.[5] These men set to work to provide books for the library, beginning with those essential for the liturgy and *lectio divina*. In the eight years of Thierry's abbacy the whole Bible and the complete works of Gregory the Great were copied; the next two decades saw the addition of treatises by Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Eusebius, Orosius, and Isidore, which made up the indispensable foundations of a good monastic library at that date.[6] Acquisitions show a widening of interest. The abbey quickly acquired a reputation for fine calligraphy and particularly illumination; books were

[1] The library catalogue of 1158–61 is analysed by E. Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, iv. *Les livres, 'scriptoria' et bibliothèques* (Mémoires et travaux des facultés catholiques de Lille, xlvi (1938)), 528–32.

[2] *Monodiae*, i. 17.

[3] Anselm, *Opera*, iii. 180–1.

[4] For Jumièges, see P. Michaud-Quantin, 'La première formation intellectuelle des moines de Jumièges', in *Jumièges, congrès scientifique au xiii^e centenaire* (Rouen, 1955), ii. 615–24.

[5] See below, ii. 18–20.

[6] See below, ii. 48–50; cf. N. R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 8–10. For the library and the surviving volumes see Nortier, pp. 98–123.

sent from Saint-Père-de-Chartres and possibly other monasteries for decoration, and may have been copied at the same time.[1] When the first catalogue was made in the second quarter of the twelfth century over 130 titles were listed, and some of the volumes may have contained several treatises.[2] It gives a rough indication of the principal interests of the monks; and some forty-five volumes, besides several fragments of works written in the twelfth and earlier centuries, which still survive in the Bibliothèque nationale and the libraries of Rouen and Alençon, provide a fuller picture of the culture and methods of the monastic school.[3] The main preoccupation was with *lectio divina*, giving due weight to the *historiae*, or lives of the saints commemorated in the calendar; liturgical studies showed a strong and individual musical bent.

For these central studies various disciplines were developed; it is clear that they were subsidiary and strictly practical. There were some aids to the formal study of grammar and the development of style; the library contained short extracts from the *Ars grammatica* of Donatus, with the commentary of Servius,[4] and was better supplied with the *Institutiones grammaticae* of Priscian.[5] Use was also made of Isidore's *De differentiis* and fragments of glossaries.[6] The other two parts of the trivium, however, left little trace. A poem on the seven liberal arts in Alençon MS. 10, which flaunts an impressive list of classical

[1] F. Avril, 'Notes sur quelques MSS bénédictins normands du xi^e et du xii^e siècles', École française de Rome, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, lxxvii (1965), 245.

[2] The catalogue has been printed by H. Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, ii. 468–9, and Delisle, *Notice*, p. xxviii n. 11. A catalogue compiled in 1682 by Dom Julien Bellaise (Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 13073) includes a description of some lost volumes.

[3] Nortier, pp. 98–123.

[4] Alençon MS. 10, ff. 87–93^{v}, contains lib. II. 16, 17, and the whole of lib. III (Keil, iv. 392–402, 563–4).

[5] The *Priscianus* of the twelfth-century catalogue probably corresponds to Bibl. nat. nouv. acq. lat. 1824, containing lib. i–xviii. 179; in addition the library contained a late-eleventh-century copy of lib. xvii. 1–16, in Alençon MS. 10, ff. 82–3, and an epitome of Priscian in Rouen MS. 1407, ff. 249–66^{v} (cf. the handlist of Priscian MSS. by M. Gibson, in *Scriptorium*, xxii (1972), 105–24).

[6] See below, pp. 101–102; the importance of *differentiae verborum* in Latin studies from the first century A.D. onwards is outlined by Myra L. Uhlfelder, '*De proprietate sermonum vel rerum*': *A study and critical edition of a set of verbal distinctions* (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, xv (1954)).

authors including Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian, and devotes a long passage to the arts of dialectic and rhetoric, leads up more modestly to a climax in praise of Boethius.[1] To most of the monks these classical authors must have been no more than names, or, at most, quotations in *florilegia*. The *Organon* of Aristotle, which occurs only in a late library catalogue,[2] was probably a later acquisition. Abbot Mainer's monks had little direct concern with dialectic, except in such contemporary dialogues as Anselm's *De grammatico*;[3] and like those at Jumièges, from whom so much of the early intellectual tradition was derived, they appear to have dispensed altogether with formal rhetoric.[4] The quadrivium was better represented in brief, practical treatises or tables. Alberic of Vitry's *De compoto*[5] and extracts from Bede's *De temporibus*[6] showed the practical application of the elementary mathematical rules and tables noted on spare folios in other collections.[7] A special place was given to music; the abbey possessed a twelfth-century copy of the treatise of Guy of Arezzo;[8] and another manuscript contained three different musical rules: the *monocordum domni Enchiriadis* and the measures of Boethius and Guy of Arezzo.[9] At some date the monks acquired a copy of Boethius' *De musica*.[10] Singing had its natural place in the monastic school,[11] and several monks were skilled in musical composition. Orderic had special praise for Guitmund, who came to Saint-Évroul from Cormeilles with Abbot Osbern, and composed some of the sweetest melodies in the abbey's troper and antiphonary; he mentioned too the com-

[1] Printed by F. Ravaisson, *Rapports sur les bibliothèques des départements de l'ouest* (Paris, 1841), pp. 404–6.

[2] Nortier, p. 197; it is neither in the twelfth-century catalogue nor in that of Dom Bellaise.

[3] Rouen MS. 486, ff. 205–9; printed in Anselm, *Opera*, i. 145–68.

[4] P. Michaud-Quantin, in *Jumièges, congrès scientifique*, ii. 616–18; at Jumièges also dialectic was taught with the aid of Anselm's *De grammatico*.

[5] H. Wolter (*Ord. Vit.*, p. 61) suggested that the 'Albricus' of the twelfth-century catalogue might refer to the *Flores rhetorici* of Albert of Montecassino; but G. Nortier identified it as the *De compoto* of Alberic de Vitry (Nortier, p. 194).

[6] Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 10062, ff. 130–6.

[7] e.g. Alençon MS. 2, ff. 115^{v}, 119^{v}.

[8] Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 10508.

[9] Alençon MS. 2, ff. 119–119^{v}; printed by F. Ravaisson, *Rapports* (Paris, 1841), pp. 369–71.

[10] Nortier, p. 204.

[11] See below, ii. 20.

positions of Reginald the Bald.[1] Two monks were sent to Chartres for instruction in singing the new office of St. Évroul, composed by Arnulf, the precentor of Chartres and a former pupil of Fulbert of Chartres.[2] The musical traditions of Saint-Évroul were strong enough for the 'Vticensis cantus' to be taken to Italy by the monks who set out with Robert of Grandmesnil in 1061 and founded the abbeys of Venosa, Mileto, and Sant' Eufemia.[3] In Normandy, too, their influence spread; Bec-Hellouin adopted the troper of Saint-Évroul almost in its entirety.[4]

A few other treatises were concerned with subjects outside the scope of the liberal arts. The abbey included among its monks some with medical knowledge; in the earliest days Ralph 'Illtonsured', who had studied at Salerno and then taken his monastic vows at Marmoutier, spent several years there; and later Goisbert of Chartres, Ralph of Tosny's skilled physician, became a monk at Saint-Évroul.[5] The copy of Hippocrates listed in the earliest catalogue may have been given by one of these men; the surviving copy of Galen's *Isagoge sive medicus* is a later manuscript.[6] There is no evidence of any theoretical study of medicine in the abbey; of its essential practical application some traces remain in extracts from handbooks of remedies.[7] But most of the miscellaneous tracts in the abbey's library were directly related to *lectio divina*. Scriptural study involved many aids to understanding in addition to the commentaries of the early Fathers: explanations of Hebrew names and Greek words,[8] elementary natural history, philosophy and other material culled from encyclopedias, and military no less than moral treatises. Certainly Solinus[9] and Vegetius[10] were available there, and Isidore's

[1] Below, ii. 108.

[2] Ibid.; for music at Chartres see F. Behrends, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, pp. xxii–xxiii.

[3] Below, ii. 100–2.

[4] *Consuetudines Beccenses*, ed. Marie Pascal Dickson (*Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*, iv. 1967), p. xliii.

[5] See below, ii. 74–6; iii. 124–6; medical studies at Chartres are examined by L. C. MacKinney, *Early Medieval Medicine with special reference to France and Chartres* (Baltimore, 1937).

[6] Bibl. nat. nouv. acq. lat. 729.

[7] See e.g. Rouen MS. 1407, ff. 119^{v}–29^{v}: 'Oribasius, Unguentum ad omnes dolores'.

[8] See Alençon MS. 2, ff. 55^{v}–56, 105^{v}–106^{v}.

[9] Cf. Nortier, p. 229.

[10] There was certainly a copy of Vegetius, *De re militari* at Bec-Hellouin

Etymologiae, though not listed in the early catalogue, was used by Orderic Vitalis. Studies were widened by the recruitment of monastic converts of mature years, trained in outside schools: men such as Goisbert of Chartres,[1] Geoffrey of Orleans,[2] Robert of Prunelai,[3] and above all John of Rheims.

John of Rheims came of humble parentage; he was born at Rheims and educated in the schools there.[4] He was enabled to become a monk through the patronage of Ralph of Montpinçon, who secured his entry into Saint-Évroul by giving the tithe of five mills in return for John's prayers in the monastic community. John entered the abbey about 1077 or 1078, and for some forty-eight years he lived there as a monk, teaching in the school, where Orderic became his most distinguished pupil, expounding Scripture, preparing aids to learning and writing verses, as well as rising to the office of sub-prior and travelling as far as Rome in 1092 on the abbot's business. He spent some time at the priory of Maule, where we hear of him in 1116–18;[5] the last seven years of his life were clouded by ill health.

Apart from one short epitaph,[6] not one of his works has survived; but an entry in the 1682 catalogue of the abbey's library, compiled by Dom Julien Bellaise, indicates the width of his interests.[7] One volume, then in the library and since lost, con-

(Nortier, p. 230); cf. also Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 6503, which contains a twelfth-century copy of Vegetius bound together with a vocabulary from Saint-Évroul. Orderic's references to Roman military discipline (below, vi. 472) were ultimately derived from Vegetius.

[1] See below, iii. 118, 126, 150, 170–2, 206–8. The conjectures about Goisbert's studies at Chartres in Wolter, *Ordericus Vitalis*, p. 104, depend entirely on Clerval; for some varying views on the school of Chartres see R. W. Southern, *Medieval Humanism* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 61–85; Peter Dronke, 'New approaches to the school of Chartres' in *Annuario de estudios medievales*, vi (Barcelona, 1969), 117–40.

[2] See below, ii. 346–8.

[3] See below, vi. 148–50, 318.

[4] Below, iii. 164–6.

[5] See below, iii. 192, with correction of date in vi. 184 n. 4.

[6] Below, iii. 178.

[7] Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 13073, f. 54; cf. Delisle, *Notice*, p. xxiii n. 2 (on p. xxiv), Wolter, *Ord. Vit.*, pp. 193–4, n. 241. The entry runs: '129. Joannis Remensis qui dictus est scholasticus, plura opuscula maxime versa metrica. Haec omnia aut composuit aut exscripsit. Versus de beata Maria secundum alphabeti litteras. De passione Domini poema. Aliud ad Guarinum abbatem Uticensem, de prioribus abbatibus Utici et monasterii restauratione, necnon de donariis principum, nobilium et aliorum piorum virorum. Aliud de tota vita Christi. De sancto

tained works composed or copied by him. He had certainly written verses in honour of the Virgin Mary, a metrical life of Christ, another of St. Évroul, which was dedicated to Ralph d'Escures, and a poem, addressed to Abbot Warin, commemorating the earlier abbots of Saint-Évroul and describing the foundation and endowment of the abbey. He had also made a collection of extracts from the Fathers and another of extracts from Virgil and other poets,[1] as well as putting together allegorical descriptions of various animals. He may have had a hand in compiling a vocabulary and an alphabetical list of names culled from the Prophets; the short Chronicle to 1112 containing a number of entries relating to Saint-Évroul must have owed something to him; and he had either copied or abbreviated a treatise by Ambrosius Aupert (d. 784) on the conflict of vices and virtues, and Isidore's *De differentiis*.

The catalogue entry and the commemorative poem written by Orderic immediately after his death give a clear and consistent picture of the interests and methods of John of Rheims. A teacher able to train his pupils in lucid exposition, he had also the learning necessary to provide the essential materials for scriptural exegesis, and had a marked bent for verse composition. Besides this, he probably had a hand in the two forms of historical compilation which were becoming normal in Norman monasteries: the *Historia fundacionis*[2] and the short chronicle, usually inserted in the margin of a monastic calendar. The school of Rheims, where he was trained, had had an exceptionally strong historical tradition from the days of Flodoard and Richer, and this he

Valentino martyre. Vita sancti Ebrulfi, itidem metrica; præfatio præfert nomen eius et nuncupationem eiusdem ad Radulfum, abbatem Sagiensem, qui postmodum fuit episcopus Roffensis ac demum Cantuariensis archiepiscopus. Collectanea ex patribus de Deo, de Trinitate, de Verbo incarnato, de angelis et hominibus, de assertione nostræ fidei et hæresibus oppositis; de modo intelligendi imo et tractandi sacram scripturam, et de tropis quæ ibidem reperiuntur. Animalium plurium allegoricæ explicationes. Ambrosii Ausperti presbyteri libellus de conflictu vitiorum atque virtutum. Isidorus de differentiis. Vocabularium incerti auctoris. Chronicon breve ab incarnatione ad annum 1112, ibi aliqua peculiaria pro Uticensibus. Alphabetum nominum quæ occurrunt apud veteres prophetas. Versus plures Virgilii et aliorum poetarum. Nonnulla de ritibus ecclesiasticis.' The poems on the Virgin Mary and Christ and the metrical life of St. Évroul are mentioned by Orderic (below, iii. 170).

[1] Cf. below, iii. 168, 'Commoda priscorum carpens documenta uirorum'.

[2] See M. Chibnall, 'Charter and chronicle', in *Church and Government in the Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher Brooke *et al.*, pp. 1–17.

brought with him to Saint-Évroul. He did not, however, bring the full training in rhetoric and dialectic, or the more detailed classical studies for which Rheims was famous all through the eleventh century;[1] these would have been out of place in a monastic school, and he adapted his teaching to the needs of monastic life.

The original works of monks of Saint-Évroul, some of which have survived, provide further evidence of interests prevailing in school and cloister there.[2] Scriptural exegesis, glosses, sermons, lives of saints, verses for special occasions, musical compositions, make up the greater part of them. The *Sentences* compiled by the abbots Warin of Les Essarts and Richard of Leicester are lost, but those attributed to Warin of Séez are now in the Bibliothèque d'Alençon (MS. 16). The homilies of William of Merlerault are a good example of the monastic mentality of the time; inquiring, but not speculative, and ready to draw on all available sources in literature and philosophy to explain the truths of the faith as enunciated by the Fathers.[3] The homilies collected in Alençon MS. 149, ff. 1–134^{v}, were designed for the Sundays and major feast days throughout the course of the year, and for other special occasions. Texts were almost all taken from the Gospels, expounded in their various senses, literal or historical, allegorical and figurative, with a marked preference for the allegorical. Much of the exposition was directed towards the life of the cloister and its moral struggles. Among the Fathers cited William showed a predilection for the commentaries and treatises of Ambrose, Gregory the Great, Augustine, and Jerome; he also used Bede's commentary on Luke and Origen's on the Old Testament. His quotations from the Latin poets, Virgil or Terence, may have been taken from *florilegia*; from Boethius he took the most familiar aphorisms, such as 'Intelligentia solius Dei et admodum paucorum hominum.'[4] He had some acquaintance with the *Phaedo* of Plato, and used it to explain pagan philosophy in contrast to Christian truth, as his Christmas Day sermon on the

[1] For some account of studies in the schools of Rheims, see *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. F. Behrends, pp. xxviii–xxxiii; J. R. Williams, 'Godfrey of Rheims, a humanist of the eleventh century', in *Speculum*, xxii (1947), 29–45.

[2] See Delisle, *Notice*, pp. x–xxx.

[3] See J. Leclerq, in *Revue Mabillon*, xxiii (1943), 48–59.

[4] Alençon MS. 149, ff. 5^{v}, 53^{v}.

text from St. John's gospel, 'In principio erat uerbum', illustrates.[1] He himself may have brought together some of the various comments and aphorisms of earlier Christian and classical writers; but there is no doubt that at times he used basic collections of excerpts made by another scholar, probably John of Rheims. Orderic was familiar with the same sources but, as we shall see, used them with a different emphasis and in a different context. Like Orderic, too, William was well grounded in treatises on the canonical books of Scripture.

(iv) *Orderic's life at Saint-Évroul*

Orderic entered the cloister and school at Saint-Évroul in 1085, when he was ten years old; his schooling probably lasted until he became a deacon on 26 March 1093, at the age of eighteen.[2] His studies, however, continued until the end of his life. His handwriting, appearing in over a dozen manuscripts amongst those that survive from the library, shows that he spent many hours working in the scriptorium, sometimes copying whole volumes himself, sometimes guiding and correcting the work of others. Delisle's identification of his characteristic handwriting has never been questioned;[3] and, although one other hand bears a close resemblance to his, later palaeographers have confirmed the conclusions of Delisle, and added a few more manuscripts to his list.[4]

The patient work of reading and copying, which occupied many years, must be reckoned one of the chief formative in-

[1] See Alençon MS. 149, ff. 8^{v}–9^{v}. The sermon begins: 'Intelligite, fratres, principium. Phylosophi Platonici tria esse principia astruere conati sunt, tria incorrupta, tria increata, tria eterna, uidelicet *noym*, *ideas*, et *ylem*; id est mentem diuinam, formam et materiam. Errorem horum dissipaturus euangelista Iohannes ait singulariter *in principio*, non *in principiis*, quia unum est principium a quo habent cuncta principium.' The exposition proceeds to reinterpret the meaning of the *Phaedo* so that it could be harmonized with Christian teaching, making use of the advice of St. Augustine and a suggestion taken from Cicero.

[2] He was ordained sub-deacon on 15 March 1091.

[3] See Delisle, *Notice*, pp. xciv–xcv; Delisle, Matériaux, pp. 7–27. The corrections made in the original manuscript of the *Ecclesiastical History* are author's corrections; sometimes the original hand has corrected misinformation; sometimes it has brought entries up to date by altering figures that give the length of a reign or an abbot's rule; see below, v. 186, 295; vi. 104, 510, 514 and *passim*. And the principal scribal hand covers the whole range of time; see below, pp. 118–19.

[4] See below, Appendix II.

fluences on his mind. We do not know in how many of the lost books he had a share; those where his hand is traceable include works of scriptural exegesis, lives of saints, hymns, liturgical works, the only known diploma of the first monastery of Saint-Évroul, the ecclesiastical *ordo* preceding the judicial duel, legends, and apocryphal gospels, as well as Eusebius' letter on the canon of the Gospels. Historical works and other aids to history had an important place: the whole of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* of William of Jumièges, part of the *Liber Pontificalis*, a section of the annals of Saint-Évroul,[1] and extracts from Bede's *De temporum ratione*. His hand is also traceable in the calendar, where he noted feasts of special interest to himself,[2] and in the catalogue of the library, which suggests that he may have helped to bring it up to date, perhaps acting as librarian.

The second continuing influence throughout his life was the exposition of and meditation on the Scriptures that played a major part in the life of the abbey. His brief biographies of several early abbots emphasized the importance of their duty to expound the Scriptures to their monks; Thierry of Mathonville and Warin of Les Essarts were praised for the way they carried out this side of their work, and Roger of Le Sap's chief delight in extreme old age, after he had shed the cares of office, was to discuss the interpretation of difficult passages of Scripture with his chaplain.[3] Other monks became skilled in exegesis; Warin of Séez and Odo of Montreuil, we are told, won the affections of the monks of Rebais by their lucid exposition of holy writ during a stay in the abbey, when they were charged with the delicate task of inducing the monks to part with some of their cherished relics.[4] William of Merlerault's homilies are particularly important in preserving something of the daily monastic life.[5] The homilies in the series for the whole year, based on the lectionary, outlined Christ's life

[1] Orderic added a note on the translation of St. Nicholas in 1087, and most of the entries from 1095 to the Lateran Council of 1139, though not the date of Hugh of Grandmesnil's death, which was added later. He also added the names of a number of early popes and emperors (Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 10062, ff. 148–54^{v}).

[2] In the list of saints commemorated in different churches, Orderic's hand has added for 20 June 'Ciuitate Cesarea, Sancti Eusebii episcopi et confessoris uiri excellentissimi ingenii et historiographi' (ibid., f. 90^{v}).

[3] See below, ii. 20, 148; iii. 240, 346; vi. 326.

[4] See below, iii. 338–40.

[5] See above, p. 22.

on earth in the period between Christmas and Pentecost, and explained his teaching and some of his miracles during the remaining months. Lucid, learned in the works of the Fathers, closely based on the Gospels and parallel passages in the Old Testament, they are a reminder of the normal rhythm of monastic spirituality. If they are typical of the homilies that Orderic must have heard regularly in the course of fifty years in the cloister after his ordination as sub-deacon, we can understand how the constant repetition of certain phrases and themes gradually penetrated his thought and style and coloured his reflections. When he began original composition some of his illustrations were still a little laboured, piling up *exempla* learned during his schooldays; more often, and particularly as his work advanced, they occurred easily and naturally. Besides this, because of his individual cast of mind and the direction of his interests, scriptural exegesis was to be for him no less than for his contemporary, Hugh of St. Victor,[1] and many others, the groundwork of his training as a historian.

Observation and occasional travel enabled him to widen his knowledge. A visit to another monastery was an occasion to explore the library in search of historical materials; the sight of ancient ruins was a reminder of former monastic glory. He found new histories at Cambrai and Worcester in the course of two of his longest journeys;[2] his visit to Cluny in 1132 was an opportunity to see for himself the monastic observances of a house from which his own abbey had learned a great deal in its early days.[3] The date of the first two of these journeys is not certain; the visit to England, when he stayed for five weeks at Crowland, occurred during the abbacy of Geoffrey of Orleans, probably between 1114 and 1123; and it may be surmised that he then visited Worcester and Thorney. While at Cambrai, when Fulbert was abbot of St. Sepulchre's, he probably paid a visit to Arras, saw the relics which had been brought from Saint-Wandrille to Haspres during the Viking invasions,[4] and admired the great town wall of white stone recently built to fortify the city.[5] If, as

[1] R. W. Southern, 'Hugh of St. Victor and the idea of historical development', in *TRHS*, 5th ser. xxi (1971), 164–8.
[2] Below, ii. 186–8.
[3] Below, vi. 424–6.
[4] Below, iii. 66, 304.
[5] Below, vi. 162.

is very likely, he was present at the council of Rheims in 1119 he may have broken his journey at Cambrai; the very full information he gives about troops from Picardy, accompanied by the bishops of Noyon and Laon, in the army of the French king during the autumn of 1119, suggests that he was then in the region: and his habit of referring to Ralph, count of Vermandois, by his much less significant title of 'lord of Péronne', a fortified town just a day's ride from Cambrai, is a further hint of his familiarity with the region.[1] He may have returned from Rheims and Cambrai to his mother abbey by way of the dependent priory of Auffay, near Rouen, where he would have heard of the riots that disturbed the synod of Rouen in November 1119.[2]

Visits to priories of Saint-Évroul or to other abbeys gave him the opportunity to see many of the monastic houses he described; it seems likely that he knew Parnes and La Chapelle,[3] and his accounts of Maule and Auffay and their patrons are so vivid that he must have spent some time in each of them.[4] Evidence suggests that he was at Maule in 1106; he himself says that he was in France in that year,[5] and his account of how, in March 1106, Ansold of Maule confirmed his father's gifts to the priory of Maule and made his eldest son his heir in the presence of all the knights of Maule, who did homage to the boy, reads rather more as an eye-witness report than as a reconstruction from charters.[6] Bohemond's wedding at Chartres a few weeks later made such a powerful impact on his imagination that he referred to it in several places;[7] if he was not there himself he certainly had a first-hand account from the monk Arnold, who returned to Maule from Chartres bringing relics from Jerusalem.[8] At Saint-Céneri he probably saw with his own eyes the ancient sarcophagi

[1] His list of places furnishing contingents to the French army in September 1119, specified Péronne, Nesle, Noyon, Lille, Tournai, Arras, Gournay; and apart from these only Clermont 'and all the provinces of Gaul and Flanders' (below, vi. 246); and he stated that the bishops of Noyon and Laon 'and many others' were with the army (below, vi. 244).

[2] Below, vi. 290–4. His account included the experiences of the priests of Longueville Giffard and Cropus, villages a few miles from Auffay. He could easily have gone on to England from there before returning home.

[3] Below, ii. 150–4.

[4] Below, iii. 172–84, 246–60.

[5] Below, vi. 74.

[6] Below, iii. 182–4.

[7] Below, iii. 182; iv. 264; vi. 70.

[8] Below, v. 170.

that remained as evidence of the great monastery that had flourished there in the time of the saint himself;[1] he certainly wrote of them and of the impressive Merovingian tombs at Saint-Évroul, which he had often seen, in similar terms.[2] The priory of Noron, by Falaise, was near enough to Deux-Jumeaux in the Bessin for him to have been there when he went to see the eloquent remains of the great monastery where St. Évroul was traditionally reputed to have begun his retreat from the world.[3] Le Merlerault could offer him no new books or archaeological remains; but he hurried to the near-by village of Planches to see with his own eyes the wreckage left by a spectacular thunderstorm.[4] It was not his business to chronicle his personal journeys, but the information he gives leaves no doubt that he knew a number of great Norman abbeys: Bec-Hellouin, where he made use of the library, and probably Jumièges, Saint-Wandrille, Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive, and Troarn, amongst others. He was ordained sub-deacon, deacon, and priest respectively at Lisieux, Séez, and Rouen; and at Rouen he used records of the see from the cathedral library.[5]

There were literary and individual contacts between Saint-Évroul and some cathedral cities outside Normandy; these were important to him, whether or not they were ever reinforced by a personal visit. Chartres, with its libraries at the cathedral and its two great monasteries had many links. Both the abbeys of Saint-Jean-en-Vallée and Saint-Père-de-Chartres belonged to his abbey's circle of commemoration; and Saint-Père was one of the monasteries that sent books to Saint-Évroul for decoration there.[6] The physician, Goisbert of Chartres, became a monk at Saint-Évroul,[7] and some early benefactors were connected with the cathedral. Foucher, canon of Chartres, granted property at Marchainville, where a small cell was established; his grant was confirmed by his successor, Bartholomew Boel. Bartholomew's wife was Helisende, *vidamesse* of Chartres; and her son Stephen, a canon of Saint-Jean-en-Vallée, entered into a prayer union with

[1] Below, iv. 156.
[2] Below, iii. 286.
[3] Below, iii. 268.
[4] Below, vi. 436–8.
[5] Below, ii, p. xvii; iii, p. xxvii; vi. 554–6.
[6] See above, p. 17; Laporte, p. 177.
[7] See above, p. 20.

Saint-Évroul.[1] The bishops, including the learned Ivo, of whom Orderic spoke with reverent admiration, were the diocesans of the priories of Maule and Marchainville, and confirmations of privileges were obtained from them.[2] There is less evidence for Laon; but Anselm of Laon's gloss on St. Matthew found its way at an early date into the library of Saint-Évroul, where it was copied in part by Orderic;[3] and Orderic undoubtedly had some direct information about the riots at Laon and the fate of bishop Waldric.[4]

As his literary skill increased he found himself called upon, wherever he was, to turn his talents to the service of the monastery. His earliest writings may have been occasional verses, particularly epitaphs. If the epitaph on Hugh of Grandmesnil was written immediately after Hugh's death in 1098 Orderic would have been about twenty-three at the time:[5] a young man to be entrusted with the patron's epitaph. Robert of Rhuddlan's epitaph was written some years after his death,[6] probably little if at all before 1100. The epitaphs on Avice and Walter of Auffay belong roughly to the period 1105–10.[7] He wrote Waltheof's epitaph during his visit to Crowland,[8] and that of John of Rheims on the day of John's burial (*c.* 1125).[9] The epitaph of Warin of Les Essarts belongs to the year 1137;[10] that of Abbot Thierry, who had died long before in Cyprus, may have been composed at any time.[11] The speed with which the commemorative verses for John of Rheims were written points to the facility he finally achieved in verse composition. A number of other poems of uncertain date on the evils of the times or in praise of the saints

[1] Below, iii. 150–4; vi. 421 n. 5; Laporte, p. 177, 'Stephano autem canonico ipsius congregationis filio Helisendis vicedomine promisimus ut, audito obitu eius, trigintalia pro ipse sicut pro nostro monacho faciemus singuli.'

[2] Bishop Geoffrey was individually commemorated at Saint-Évroul; cf. Laporte, p. 179, 'Pro Goiffredo episcopo Carnotensi faciemus sicut pro uno ex nostris monachis'.

[3] Alençon MS. 26; see also V. I. J. Flint, '"The School of Laon"—a Reconsideration', in *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, xliii (1976), p. 91.

[4] See below, vi. 90.

[5] Below, iv. 336–8.

[6] Below, iv. 144–6.

[7] Below, iii. 256–8.

[8] Below, ii. 350.

[9] Below, iii. 168–70.

[10] Below, vi. 488–90.

[11] Below, iii. 336.

can be attributed to him;[1] and verse passages were not infrequently introduced into his historical writing when the events recorded roused his deeper feelings. He showed something of the taste of his master, John of Rheims, for verse; this he never lost, even when history of one kind or another became his main intellectual activity.

(v) *His historical writing*

The years from about 1095 to 1114, or perhaps 1118, might be described as the period of Orderic's historical apprenticeship. Only a few of his activities can be dated with precision; he was in France, probably at Maule, in 1106, but when he summed up his work at the end of his life the only personal event he himself thought worthy of record was his ordination as a priest on 21 December 1107. The evidence of his handwriting in the annals of Saint-Évroul and the interpolated copy of the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* of William of Jumièges suggests that he may have been gradually becoming responsible for the historical work of the cloister. But we must not overlook the activities of John of Rheims, which apparently continued into the abbacy of Warin of Les Essarts in 1123; his verse account of the abbey's foundation was addressed to Warin. For a time John's writing overlapped with that of his most distinguished pupil, and some of the task of recording and interpreting history for the benefit of his fellow-monks may at first have fallen to him. The annals of Saint-Évroul were a corporate work; Orderic's hand wrote them regularly from 1095, but the entries may have been added some years after the events described, and John was in some way involved in a short chronicle up to 1112.

The interpolations attributed to Orderic in the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* of William of Jumièges raise difficult problems of composition and chronology.[2] Orderic's responsibility for the

[1] See Delisle, *Matériaux*, pp. 497–9, 501, 505–6; idem, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, xxxiv (1873), 276–83; idem, *Vers et écriture d'Orderic Vital* (Paris, 1903). For evidence that he wrote numerous 'opusculi' see the letter of Dom Vallin, printed in Delisle, *Notice*, pp. c–ci.

[2] The manuscripts of the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* are being studied by Miss Elizabeth van Houts, who is preparing a new edition, and to whom I am indebted for information about the MSS. and comments on the dating. She has raised the question of whether the attribution of the interpolations to Orderic

final form of the interpolations is scarcely open to doubt; a copy written in his own hand, unfortunately mutilated so that the greater part of Book VII is lost, survives from the library of Saint-Évroul.[1] Most of the long interpolations relate to the early history of Saint-Évroul and its patrons; the rhythmic cadences of the rhymed prose are characteristic of his style. The manuscript shows some traces of correction, and alterations may have been made over a period of years. Since Anselm is described as archbishop of Canterbury the main text appears to date from before 1109; but the statement that the term of office of Matilda, abbess of Holy Trinity, Caen, had lasted forty-seven years[2] was most probably inserted after her death in 1113. Orderic could have been solely responsible for all the interpolations, completing the main text before 1109, and revising it a few years later, as in the course of time he was to revise his *Ecclesiastical History*; and there is little doubt that as they stand they are substantially or wholly his work. It might be argued that he could have made use of some materials prepared by John of Rheims, and the disappearance of John's own verse history hinders any final decision. But since John appears always to have composed in verse the presumption is that his presentation of the early history of the abbey and its benefactors would have been very different from that given in the interpolations, and that these are indeed, as Delisle, Marx, and later writers have believed, the unaided work of Orderic. I find the evidence sufficiently convincing to regard them as Orderic's first venture into historical writing. They were concerned mostly with the families of Giroie and Grandmesnil, their refoundation of Saint-Évroul, and the migration of some of the monks to found Sant'Eufemia in Calabria after William the Conqueror drove Hugh and Robert of Grandmesnil into exile. But they have also preserved certain traditions about

is justified in 'Quelques remarques sur les interpolations attribuées à Orderic Vital dans les *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* de Guillaume de Jumièges', *Revue d'histoire des textes*, viii (1978), 213-22.

[1] Rouen MS. 1174.

[2] In some MSS. the figure is 48 years; this part of the text is missing in Rouen MS. 1174. Miss van Houts tells me there is no justification for the figure of 40, printed in the edition of Jean Marx. While some records describe the length of Matilda's term of office as 54 years, dating from 1059, Orderic elsewhere gives the figure as 47 years, and he presumably dated from the dedication of the church in 1066 (see below, iii. 10).

Rollo's benefactions to the Church, the capture of Charles the Simple by Herbert, count of Péronne,[1] the invasion of England, and the battle of Hastings in 1066. This implies that Orderic was already recording oral traditions, and either making extracts from earlier chronicles or using extracts made by others. In spite of the local and special nature of many of his interpolations, he thought of them as an integral part of more general history, even abstaining from a longer account of the Bellême family on the grounds that his concern was with the history of Duke William.[2]

How soon afterwards he embarked upon his life work, the *Ecclesiastical History*, is not certain. He may have continued compiling earlier annals and grappling with chronological problems,[3] and in this way have laid the groundwork for one or two annalistic sections later incorporated in his greater work. He may have been at work in the abbey's archives, copying some of the early charters of endowment or drafting later ones. All but one of the original charters have been lost, and the only early roll, a collection of narrative charters recording the ceremonies whereby gifts were made in the chapter-house or church, belongs to a slightly earlier period; it was written probably about the turn of the century and is not in Orderic's hand, though the scribes who wrote it were trained in the same scriptorium.[4] By 1114, certainly, he had begun work on the first chapters of Book III, which relate to the refoundation of the monastery in 1050. This was done, as he twice recorded, at the command of Abbot Roger of Le Sap,[5] and although the 'simple account of the restoration of Saint-Évroul' of which he spoke in his general preface might be read as a reference to the chapters interpolated in William of Jumièges, the preface to Book V leaves no doubt that the work prompted by Abbot Roger, and later encouraged by Abbot Warin, was the early part of the *Ecclesiastical History*. In issuing this precept the good abbot may have been moved by reverence for his predecessors, a fatherly wish to enable one of his monks to make full use of his talents, or a desire to imitate other houses

[1] Marx, pp. 151–2. The capture of King Charles was later included in two summaries of early history introduced into the *Ecclesiastical History*; see below, p. 153; iii. 80.

[2] See Marx, p. 170.

[3] See below, p. 99.

[4] Bibl. nat. MS. nouv. acq. lat. 2527; printed, Le Prévost, v. 182–95.

[5] See below, p. 130; iii. 6.

at a time when the writing of individual monastic histories was a normal activity in most large Benedictine houses. The incentive may, however, have been provided by an important event in the life of the abbey. At Candlemas, 1113, Henry I visited the monastery, spent two days there, and promised to confirm earlier benefactions; this he did in a charter which was sealed and issued at Rouen within the next few months.[1] There was, therefore, an urgent practical need to look into the charters and records of earlier gifts, and ascertain the history of properties that, partly through neglect and partly through lay violence, had been temporarily lost to the house. Certainly some of the early chapters of Book III, describing the professions of two or three monks in the mid-1060s, about fifty years before the time of writing, must have been composed about 1114–15. Orderic's visit to Crowland and his work on the earlier history of that house, later included in Book IV, may also belong to the same period, though this is less certain. There is, however, no doubt that Book III was not finished before 1123 or 1124.[2]

Various reasons for this slow pace may be suggested; none can be proved correct. Personal factors may have been important. The bulk of the *Ecclesiastical History*, in so far as it is dateable, was written between 1123 and 1137; these dates correspond exactly with the abbacy of Orderic's friend and contemporary, Warin of Les Essarts. Again, Orderic's master, John of Rheims, survived probably until March 1125;[3] and the faults of anger and envy noted by Orderic in an otherwise laudatory and wholly affectionate commemorative poem may have been manifested in an unwillingness to be superseded by his more brilliant pupil. For John too had some aspirations as a historian; and Orderic may have held back his own work out of respect or awe as long as John was active. These changes in the monastic community are too significant to be ignored. Nevertheless, it is possible that the delay was partly due to a change of plan, and to Orderic's wish to expand his book into a general Norman history;[4] for this he would need to amass sources, some of which had to be

[1] Below, vi. 174–6. Orderic specifically refers to the loss of certain endowments and to claims made against the monks (below, ii. 96–8, 120–2, 126).

[2] See below, ii, p. xv.

[3] One of the works attributed to him was dedicated to Abbot Warin (above, p. 21).

[4] Cf. below, ii, p. xvi.

borrowed from other libraries. Again, his duties may have taken him to one or other of the dependent cells of Saint-Évroul, where the necessary books were not available; if the structure and composition of Books XI and XII are examined a chronological lacuna will be found between 1114 and 1118, which Orderic tersely and somewhat inaccurately described as a time of peace after Henry I had restored order and come to an arrangement with the king of France and count of Anjou.[1] From about 1118 or 1119 chronological detail was more carefully recorded, as though Orderic had taken note of events at the time of their occurrence, consciously aware that they would later be incorporated in the history he had begun to write.

The changing plan and gradual widening of the scope of his work left traces in the changing numbers of the books and in the wording of the prefaces, addressed sometimes explicitly to his monastic brethren and sometimes by implication to a wider circle of readers, as well as in the subject matter. When in Book III Orderic first mentioned William the Conqueror and his children and the wonderful history that might be written about them he deliberately turned back to his monastic history; he was a monk living in the cloister and such things were not for him. By the time he reached the end of that book, some nine or ten years later, he announced his intention of describing the deeds of William and the changing fortunes of the English and Norman peoples more fully.[2] In spite of this change the narrower purpose was to be expressed again from time to time. Books V and VI were concerned very much with the internal history of the monastery, and the epilogue linking them explained that the very full account of donations was given for the benefit of monks who would in future years come to work in the Lord's vineyard.[3] The epilogue to Book IX, on the other hand, addressed more widely, brought to a close the narrative of the crusade and announced that the next book would describe the events of the subsequent thirty years for men in future generations like himself, who were eager to discover the true sequence of events and retell them for the benefit of others.[4] Books I and II, probably compiled over the years but not put into their final form until about 1136, were repeatedly described as 'chronographya'.[5] A clue to the shifting

[1] Below, vi. 182. [2] Below, ii. 104, 188. [3] Below, iii. 210.
[4] Below, v. 190. [5] Below, pp. 150, 162, 191.

standpoint is given in the epilogue to Book VI, written not earlier than 1137 and possibly after the whole history was finished, where Orderic spoke of two volumes of which the second (Books VII–XIII) had already been completed.[1] In fact three works at least had been brought together within a single framework.

Books I and II were a chronographical sketch, which extended from the birth of Christ through the lives of the apostles and sequence of popes, through the succession of emperors and other lay rulers after them to his own time. Orderic may have been influenced in the plan of his work by the unfulfilled intention that Jerome expressed in the preface to his *Vita Malchi*.[2] Jerome had hoped, if he was spared and his detractors gave him peace, to go on to a wider history of the Church from the birth of Christ to his own time, showing how it spread through the work of the apostles, throve on persecutions and triumphed with its martyrs, until, after the conversion of the rulers of the world, it became greater in power and wealth though less in virtue. This might be read as a blueprint for Orderic's Books I and II in particular, where he was carrying on the traditions of Eusebius of Caesarea and Jerome; and to some extent for the whole *Ecclesiastical History*. Books III–VI had a strong bias towards the history of the abbey itself, but woven into it was a narrative of the deeds of the Normans up to 1083. In writing these sections Orderic felt himself to be the successor of Dudo of Saint-Quentin and William of Jumièges. Books VII–XIII contain a historical narrative of his own times from 1083, addressed to a wider world, designed to provide material for future historians to excerpt and interpret in their chronicles. When the work was put into its final form about 1137, before the death of Warin of Les Essarts, the prologue summed up a variety of purposes. Many of the familiar topoi of historical prefaces, going back to Roman and Greek writers, will be found there;[3] yet just as the rhetorical common-

[1] Below, iii. 360.

[2] Migne, *PL* xxiii. 53.

[3] For the topoi in classical prefaces see Tore Janson, *Latin Prose Prefaces* (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis: Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, 13, 1964); and for medieval developments after the fifth century, G. Simon, 'Untersuchungen zur Topik der Widmungsbriefe mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreiber bis zum Ende des 12 Jahrhunderts', in *Archiv für Diplomatik*, iv (1958), 52–119, v (1959), 73–153.

places of the classical world were modified by the religious experience of Christian historians, so common traditions were blended by each individual writer into an expression of purpose and method that bore the stamp of his individual mind.

History, Orderic wrote, provided a record of events that was full of moral examples profitable to future generations. Each generation had a duty to keep a truthful record for the glory of God; even he, unlearned and without literary skill, was justified by his good intentions in doing something that he could not command others to undertake, whereby he would both avoid idleness and achieve something pleasing to readers with his interests. He was encouraged by the fact that he had begun the work at the command of his former abbot, Roger, and now offered it to Abbot Warin for his correction and approval. All this is conventional; but a personal note, sometimes clearly identifiable, creeps in. It is not certain whether the 'simplices sinmatites' for whom he wrote were generalized, hypothetical students of history like himself, or familiar monks in his own cloister.[1] But personal to himself was his delight in reading the histories of such men as Bede ('delectabiliter intueor'), likewise the special limitations of his monastic vocation which, he felt, obliged him to exclude Greek and Hellenistic and Roman history and confine himself to the history of the Church after the birth of Christ; likewise, to some extent at least, his confidence, amply justified in the event, that future generations would make use of the record he was writing as he himself had used the works of his predecessors. However much he insisted on his obedience and explicitly addressed his brother monks, the wider purpose of history, as he had read it in the works of Eusebius, Jerome, Orosius, Paul the Deacon, and above all Bede, continually intruded. To

[1] He used the rare word, 'sinmatita', in only one other place, when writing in the preface to Book VI of the detractors of his work. To fend off criticism, whether real or anticipated, was another topos; indeed his contemporary, William of Malmesbury, replied to critics in very similar terms in the preface to Book IV of the *Gesta Regum*, and also cited Jerome. But Jerome's critics, attacked so bitterly in many prefaces, were real as well as anticipated; and since the attitude of Orderic's fellow-monks to historical writing must have included a wide range of opinions, it is likely that he wrote with both a specific and a general meaning. On the necessity for a monk to justify any activity, and the reality of the objections refuted, cf. B. Smalley, 'Ralph of Flaix on Leviticus' in *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, xxxv (1968), 53; and A. Hayen, 'St. Anselm et St. Thomas', in *Spicilegium beccense*, i (Paris, 1959), 69–85.

imagine that, because his work was begun at the command of his abbot and certain parts were addressed to his monastic brethren, he wrote exclusively for a monastic audience, would be to blind oneself to the originality of his mind, the force of his imagination, and the strength and diversity of the historical tradition which inspired and sustained him; as well as to the wider audience of men and women whose lives, even though they lay mainly in the world outside, were never wholly cut off from the cloister.

To whom was the *Ecclesiastical History* directed? Parts undoubtedly were a record of the monastery's endowment, patrons, and early history; an extension of the interwoven charter and chronicle that in so many houses made up the *Historia fundacionis*. Sealed charters in time gained validity as title deeds, and narrative prologues were expanded into independent histories to preserve the memory of abbots and patrons for the young monks who had never known them. Other parts were directed towards monastic needs, to provide readings for the refectory and brief *historiae* for the church services on saints' days. As for the rest, and it is a large proportion of the book, it was certainly addressed in the first instance to an audience who understood spoken Latin. The punctuation used was designed to indicate pauses and changes in the pitch of the voice; it was ideal for reading aloud, but not necessarily exclusively for public reading. The method of punctuation taught in the monastic school was the only one that Orderic knew; besides this, the solitary monk in the cloister might articulate the words as he read them. It must not, therefore, be assumed that Orderic wrote only for the monks who would hear his work read out in short sections or daily portions. They were an important, indeed an essential, part of his anticipated audience; but there can be no doubt that he looked beyond them.[1]

[1] The monastic audience is discussed by R. Ray, 'Orderic Vitalis and his readers', *Studia monastica*, xiv (1972), 15–34; idem, 'Medieval historiography through the twelfth century', *Viator*, v (1974), 33–59. For the wider public who might be addressed by a monastic historian, cf. A. Wilmart, 'L'histoire ecclésiastique composée par Hugues de Fleury et ses destinataires', *Revue bénédictine*, *l* (1938), 304–5. It was not uncommon for a monk to dedicate a work to an eminent lay person, as William of Jumièges to William I, or Hugh of Fleury to Countess Adela of Blois; Robert of Torigny quite explicitly sought literary fame and the favour of his prince (see R. Foreville, 'Robert de Torigni et Clio', in *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, ii. 150–1).

He looked first to the laymen of his day. Some of them could read or understand Latin; Norman and French lords placed certain of their sons in great households as squires to be trained for knighthood, and had others taught their letters with a view to a monastic vocation or church preferment; but it could never be certain that a young knight would not answer the call of the cloister, or a young clerk not yet a priest find himself by chance heir to the patrimony of his ancestors. Indeed in some families literacy and training as a knight were not mutually exclusive. Robert of Grandmesnil had been taught his letters as a child, but was subsequently made a squire of Duke William and given the arms of knighthood before he made his final choice of a monastic vocation.[1] Ansold of Maule spent his whole life, until he became a monk on his death-bed, in a career of arms; he fought in his bachelor days in Italy and the Balkans, but returned to marry and take up his patrimony and feudal duties at Maule. His secular career did not prevent him from applying a keen intelligence to things of the mind; Orderic's language shows that he could possibly understand Latin, since he listened in the priory church at Maule to spiritual discourses and studied past history as it was written in ancient records, but that perhaps he could not read it fluently since past events were explained to him by learned narrators and he memorized the lives of the Fathers.[2] Besides these literate and semi-literate laymen there were others like the young knights in the court of Hugh of Chester, who heard Gerold of Avranches telling stories of warrior saints such as St. George and St. William of Gellone.[3] Five of these knights were converted to a monastic vocation; dozens in that noisy household, always full of squires and young laymen, must have heard Gerold's sermons. Secular clerks, some of them chaplains of the great, who were frequent visitors in the monasteries and at times, as monks took over from secular clergy in a reformed house, shared to some extent in the life of the community, were among the literate for whom Orderic wrote, and through whom he spoke to the knights beyond the cloister. Reciprocally, he was well aware of the more secular culture outside. The songs of the jongleurs shocked him by their frivolity;[4] the morals of the courts of William Rufus, Robert Curthose, Fulk of Anjou, and some

[1] Interpolations in William of Jumièges (Marx, p. 174).
[2] Below, iii. 178–82. [3] Below, iii. 216. [4] Below, iii. 218.

great lords such as Hugh, earl of Chester, seemed to him comparable to those of Sodom, and provoked passionately eloquent denunciations in verse and prose.[1] Yet deeds of heroism in battle, praised in the vernacular *chansons* of the day, were equally capable of a Christian interpretation, particularly when the battles were waged against the infidel, or in support of a cause so just that the hand of God might plausibly be detected in the victory.

Orderic's *Ecclesiastical History* is full of echoes of *chansons de geste*, which reached him through the narratives of men who had come to express their own battle experiences in terms of familiar *chansons* that praised their exploits and those of others like them.[2] But in his work the echoes of the *chansons* came in terms of Christian morality. The sheer joy of battle, the deliberate cruelty, of vernacular epic were replaced by a constant reminder of the will of God, the duties of the true Christian, the terrible consequences of sin. The sense of feudal justice, of the duty of a man to his lord, was equally strong in both. It could be, and frequently was, expressed in feudal and military terms; the language of monastic duty borrowed freely from the language of knighthood. The monk served Christ, who was his lord, as the knight served his earthly lord; each in his different way underwent a rigorous discipline to fit him for the lifelong service he owed. Anselm frequently made comparisons of this kind, developing spiritual allegories from the familiar duties of different kinds of fighting men; *sententiae* and sermons contained accounts of the defence of castles and the equipment of knights.[3] Vegetius was popular in the cloister, since what he wrote of the training and discipline of the Roman troops was perfectly applicable in allegorical terms. Orderic, like Anselm and the monks and clerks whose language was permeated with feudal terms and whose analogies came from classical and feudal warfare, wrote in part for monks of the knightly class who had been familiar with such things from boyhood; but he wrote also for secular knights, in the hope of moderating their brutality and directing their swords to the service of God. He never tired of pointing a moral, or

[1] Cf. Delisle, *Matériaux*, pp. 20–1; below, iv. 186–90.

[2] Below, iv, pp. xxiv–xxvii; v, pp. xvi–xix; vi, pp. xxii–xxiv.

[3] Cf. the examples cited in M. Chibnall, 'Mercenaries and the *familia regis* in the time of Henry I', *History*, lxii (1977), 15–23; also Alençon MS. 16, ff. 65–65^{v}.

suggesting that disasters were in one way or another the consequence of human sin.

Besides this, he wrote for the monks or clerks in generations to come, who would use his work as he had used the works of Bede and Paul the Deacon. Seeing the hand of God in all things, he could regard the events he was recording as evidence that might enable a future historian or philosopher to explain the divine purpose hidden from his own contemporaries. If his own preference was for the lives of saints and holy prelates, miracles and marvels, he was assiduous in amassing evidence about feuds, battles, and the descents of fiefs and castles; and at times, thanks to his long study of any works of history on which he could lay his hands, he was swept away by the momentum of the events that he recorded. Try as he would to adapt the material to a strictly monastic or moral purpose, it continually burst the bonds of any formal or utilitarian structure. 'Humani nihil a me alienum puto' would have been a suitable motto for him. All was grist to his mill.

(vi) *His character*

When Orderic looked back over his sixty-six years at Saint-Évroul he summarized them in these words: 'In prefato cenobio lvi annis ... conuersatus sum, et a cunctis fratribus et contubernalibus multo plus quam merui amatus et honoratus sum.'[1] Even some 800 years later it would be hard for any careful and serious reader to come to the end of Orderic's *Ecclesiastical History* without also feeling respect and affection for the author. But he must be seen in the context of his age; and we should do well not to attempt too psychological a study, for he has left no analysis of his personal feelings; the impression that emerges from his work is that of an essentially balanced character, sustained by deep faith.[2] If any modern parallel is sought, we should look, perhaps, to a dedicated monk such as Dom Cuthbert Butler, who wrote of his own entry into religion: 'I felt a strong call to be a monk, but I had no clear idea of what was meant by being a monk ... I was not flying from the dangers of the world

[1] See below, vi. 554.

[2] See Johannes Spörl, *Grundformen hochmittelalterlicher Geschichtsauffassung* (Darmstadt, 1968), pp. 62–3, where a similar view-point is expressed.

—I knew nothing of them.'[1] For Orderic, the child oblate, the choice was his father's, not his own; yet he accepted it, as Abbot Butler accepted his own strong, but blind, impulse. Saint-Évroul became his home, the centre of his life's work, where he fulfilled his vocation. He may have hoped for office; apparently it did not come, and instead he responded gladly to the opportunities offered in the scriptorium and library. The traditions of his abbey, the history of the Church, his duty as a priest, the daily monastic round, interrupted by occasional long journeys or residence in dependent priories, apparently filled his life. Whatever his personal struggles, he only hinted at them,[2] and he did not wish to record them when he ended his writing, at the darkest moment of the Anglo-Norman civil wars in 1141, on a note of peace and joy: 'Gratia Dei corroboratus, securitate subiectionis et paupertatis tripudio.'[3] Unlike Guibert of Nogent, he has not left the details that would enable us to probe his personal feelings; but he possessed to a high degree the qualities so conspicuously lacking in the 'tormented and introverted' Guibert: the 'charity, generosity and sympathy that are necessary for understanding the motivations and behaviour of others.'[4] Such is his understanding of individual feelings that, among the many voices in his crowded narrative, we cannot always be sure, even after long familiarity with his work, when Orderic himself is speaking. This suggests that he may have been more extroverted than Guibert; certainly he was more fulfilled.

His outlook on the world was coloured by his monastic experience, and by the assumptions of the Norman aristocracy amongst whom he had moved all his life, who had founded and largely peopled the monasteries. The division of society into 'orders'—clerk and lay, military and rural—was an assumption that he never questioned;[5] he gave way to an almost passionate de-

[1] Cited by David Knowles, *The Historian and Character* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 267.

[2] There is one unusually deep personal note in the prayer to St. John (below, p. 180), where, speaking in the first person singular, he refers to failing health and moral weakness, and begs for the intercession of the saint: 'Labores meos et erumnas quibus angor assidue'.

[3] Below, vi. 550.

[4] *Self and Society in Medieval France: The Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent*, ed. John F. Benton (New York and Evanston, 1970), pp. 32–3.

[5] Cf. G. Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. Cynthia Postan (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 88–93.

nunciation of peasants who wished to avoid the life of toil that was their lot, and he was explicit in his scorn for social climbers raised from the dust. The conventional epithets applied to individual knights and lords show the ideal mould in which he wished to see them: nobly-born, valiant, handsome, open-handed, and eloquent—magnanimous, in the literal meaning of the word.[1] But their duties too were assumed, as they appeared both in feudal reality and in the more optimistic code of chivalry. Loyalty was paramount; to respect the rules of war and to refrain from plundering clergy and peasants were binding obligations. Even a patron who abused his power and wronged the weak came under the lash of Orderic's rarely roused, but keenly cutting, anger.[2] His acceptance of the conventional social order belongs to his age; his compassion, which runs through almost every part of his work, is his own. Only in writing of the enemies of the faith, in describing the crusades and the wars in Spain, did he, in common with his sources, show no appreciation of the human qualities and sufferings of the enemy; and this, perhaps, was a failure of imagination rather than of compassion. He had never met a Saracen; they moved, for him, in a purely literary world.

The other personal quality most strongly marked in his writing is his receptiveness. It enabled him to accommodate in what he wrote the most varied narratives, and sometimes to reconcile them. Almost any aristocratic marriage is introduced by some such phrase as, 'He fell in love with a beautiful maiden'; yet there is surely no clearer description anywhere of the brutal realities of the feudal marriage-market than his account of the negotiations that led to Bertrade of Montfort being handed over as an unwilling young bride to the much-married Fulk of Anjou. Incurably romantic, he pitied the wronged countess of Poitou and admired the warlike feats of Isabel of Tosny, a twelfth-century Camilla, and of Robert Bordet's wife Sibyl, 'as brave as she was beautiful', who kept sleepless watch against the Moors in Tarragona during her husband's absence; but as a Christian monk he applauded still more the renunciation of the world and its temptations by such masterful women as Isabel herself and

[1] See below, *Index verborum*, under generosus, nobilis, pulcher, facundia, strenuus, magnanimus, strenuitas, magnanimitas.

[2] See his comments on Robert of Rhuddlan's oppressions of the Welsh (below iv. 138, 146), and Richer of Laigle's plundering of the lands of Saint-Évroul, (below, vi. 460).

Adela of Blois, who ended their days in the cloister.[1] So he recorded both the cruel realities of his world, only partly tempered by social and moral codes, and the idealized pictures with which the men and women he knew filled their moments of recreation, and helped to make reality tolerable. In his appreciation of the many faces of his contemporaries he showed himself a faithful exponent of twelfth-century Christian humanism.

Outside the knightly and aristocratic class to which he belonged by virtue of the place of great abbeys in Norman society, his personal contacts were less and his sympathies more conventional. Towards the tenants of his own abbey he showed a special concern, responding to the social code of contemporary religious houses, which, for both economic and charitable reasons, felt a particular responsibility towards such people, and frequently intervened to protect them from the exactions of local lords and royal officials.[2] Apart from this, peasants to him were the defenceless poor; the inevitable victims of war, entitled to respect and mercy. Mostly they appear as anonymous and silent sufferers from oppression, or witnesses of portents and miracles. Some, however, he met on the estates of his abbey, or in the course of his travels, and these he brings to life in a few sentences: the peasant woman escaping from the floods in Flanders, floating on a haystack and clutching her new-born baby and hen with its chicks; the harvesters in a field caught by a sudden storm, and the little girl struck by lightning as she ran to fetch their coats; the reformed robber and his frightened son struggling through the heavy snow to bring a Christmas gift of white bread to the monks.[3]

At the other end of the social scale, his attitude to the royal house again combines a conventional standpoint with personal touches. Respect and admiration for an anointed king did not prevent him from criticizing the cruelty of William the Conqueror in laying waste the north of England, or from denouncing the morals of William Rufus with resounding rhetoric. The emphasis on the virtue of anointing and coronation was derived from the teaching of church leaders, inspired in part at least by

[1] Below, iv. 184–6, 212–14; vi. 258–60, 404; iii. 128; vi. 44.

[2] Cf. U. Berlière, 'Monastères et sujets au moyen âge', *Revue bénédictine*, xliv (1932), 47–8.

[3] Below, vi. 434–42; iii. 342–4.

the monarch himself; Orderic made much of it, both in his defence of Henry I against the claims of Robert Curthose, and in his loyalty to the captive Stephen.[1] But in his view it did not annul feudal obligations; rarely a friend to rebels, he was prepared to justify Richer of Laigle's actions in renouncing his allegiance to Henry I and making a pact with the king of France when Henry denied him the English part of the family inheritance. He accepted, too, the necessities of secular government in the hard task of imposing order on the froward Normans. Never wavering in his loyalty to Henry I, the 'lion of justice', he did not shrink from relating that Henry allowed his own granddaughters to be blinded in retribution for an enemy's breach of faith, and had his rebel daughter, Juliana, thrown into the moat in midwinter; that would-be rebels were held in check by the knowledge that if they failed his vengeance would be terrible, and that his armies left behind them a trail of towns reduced to ashes. Though all cruelty was abhorrent to him, the harsh, even brutal, application of justice seemed more acceptable than the lawless and wanton cruelty he had witnessed all around him when justice was in abeyance. He was not blind to Henry's faults, but he knew the terrible alternative to his effective rule.[2] Where possible, he offered a legal defence of Henry's actions; twice, where he could cite no human law to justify the king, he invoked the law of God. When Henry seized and imprisoned the tyrant, Robert of Bellême, in circumstances of questionable legality, and again when he disinherited William Clito, Orderic saw him as the instrument of God to avenge the poor and helpless and to

[1] For contemporary ideas on the nature of royalty and the importance of anointing in conferring dignity and power, see J. Boussard, 'La notion de royauté sous Guillaume le Conquérant', *Annali della fondazione italiana per la storia amministrativa*, iv (1967), 47–77.

[2] The lands of Saint-Évroul were frequently raided by the garrisons of neighbouring private castles during times of rebellion and civil war. During Henry I's lifetime the king had only to show his face for the rebels to surrender (see below, vi. 220–2, 248–50). After his death there was no protection for the weak against the strong; on 18 May 1136 fighting reached the gates of the abbey, and the *bourg* of Saint-Évroul was burnt by partisans of Richer of Laigle (see below, vi. 458–62). Orderic was probably working on the later books of the *Ecclesiastical History*, in which he described the events of Henry I's reign, when the attack took place. He was capable of irony, both mocking (below, p. 81) and bitter (below, vi. 460); but he rarely or never turned his irony against Henry I, whose rule gave the only times of real peace that he had ever known in Normandy (cf. below, p. 82; and, for a possible exception, p. 92 n. 1).

establish justice.[1] Credulous in some matters, he was never afraid to look political reality in the face. And he remained receptive to other points of view; indeed, he explored them in his eagerness to understand the ways of God through experience of the created world. This wish was the driving force behind his work; it is through his written work that he, like Bede, may to some extent be known.

[1] Orderic's attitude to the capture and imprisonment of Robert of Bellême must be pieced together from several scattered references. In describing the events of 1113 (below, vi. 178) he told how Robert was summoned to Henry's court to answer many charges, and was sentenced to imprisonment by a just judgement of the court; he did not explain why Robert, who had previously failed to answer three summonses, finally came. At the council of Rheims King Louis brought a number of charges against Henry, one of which was that Robert had gone to the court as Louis's envoy, and ought not to have been taken prisoner (below, vi. 256–8). Orderic suggested a legal defence against Louis's other charges in describing the interview between Henry and Pope Calixtus at Gisors (below, vi. 284–8), but remained silent on this one. He had, however, much earlier in his work stated emphatically that, in imprisoning Robert, Henry acted by the righteous decree of God (below, iv. 214). For the disinheriting of Clito see below, vi. 368.

PART II. THE *ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY*

(i) *Summary of structure and content*

Book I contains the *Life of Christ*, derived from the Gospels, and the history of the Church up to the coming of the Holy Spirit. This is followed by a chronicle based on Eusebius (in the translation of Rufinus), Jerome, Orosius, Isidore, Paul the Deacon, Bede, and a number of later annals; it lists the rulers of the Roman Empire and some events from the history of Lombards and Franks, English and Normans up to the year 1138. The book was put into its final form in 1136; the last page was left blank for the insertion of later material, and events from 1136 to 1138 were added later. Many of the extracts from sources may have been collected earlier. When Orderic began Book IX *c.* 1135 he complained that he no longer had scribes to help him make excerpts; the excerpts used in Book I may have been collected earlier, when he had assistants. This probability is strengthened by the fact that early chronological passages occur in several parts of the *Ecclesiastical History*, and contain the same groundwork of familiar fact as Book I. Moreover, eight pages of a copy of the *Historia Francorum Senonensis*, which Orderic used extensively in the chronicle, survive from the library of Saint-Évroul, written in a hand that was not his;[1] and an abbreviation of part of the *Liber Pontificalis*, of which he wrote the first few pages, was continued by another scribe.[2]

Book II contains lives of the apostles and evangelists, based on the canonical Acts of the Apostles and a variety of apocryphal lives. Lives of the popes follow, from St. Clement to Leo IV, using a framework of the *Liber Pontificalis*, and augmented by a few individual *vitae* (including the *Passio Sancti Clementis* and the *Vita Silvestri*); after Leo IV there is merely a bare and not wholly accurate list of names up to Innocent II. The whole book was put into its final form not later than 1137; minor additions were made later. The note on Innocent II, originally recording that he had held office for 'x' years, was added in 1139/40; and

[1] Below, iv. pp. xv–xvii. [2] Rouen MS. 31.

later still the number was changed to 'xii'. Many of the extracts and epitomes making up this book may have been prepared earlier. The promise at the end of his short chronicle of the archbishops of Rouen in Book V, written about 1127, to record world events elsewhere if he were spared, indicates that he was probably then contemplating a world chronicle; he may have continued compiling it intermittently over the next ten years.

Book III,[1] the first to be written, contains the early history of Saint-Évroul, and an account of the Norman conquest of England. It includes a summary of two *Vitae Sancti Iudoci*, one anonymous and one by Isembard of Fleury, and a collection of St. Judoc's miracles. The book was begun *c.* 1114, and finished in 1123/4.

Book IV relates events in England and Normandy from 1067 to 1075, and was written probably in 1125. It incorporates an abbreviation of the *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* by Felix, and an early history of the abbey of Crowland, written when Orderic was in England, not later than 1123 and possibly as early as 1114 or 1115.

Book V was begun *c.* 1127; it includes a history of the archbishops of Rouen, which may have been begun earlier, but was finished in August 1127. Work on this book may have continued into the next year or two. It was specially concerned with gifts to the monastery.

Book VI, with Book V and sections of Book III, make up the main body of the work relating to internal monastic history. It was begun probably *c.* 1130; the history of St. Évroul, abbreviated from a late and unreliable *Vita*, and the account of the first monastery founded by him, belong to the time of the negotiations with Rebais (1130–1) and the translation of the relics of the saint on 26 May 1131. A 'miracle' that occurred at Christmas, 1133, was written down after 1135, and a letter of Abbot Warin, containing a description of the case of Bricstan of Chatteris, was added after Warin's death in 1137. Calligraphy suggests that it was written about the same time as the later chapters of Book XIII.[2] The epilogue was one of the last parts of the whole work to be written, and may be as late as 1141.

[1] For the dating of Books III–XIII see the introductions to volumes ii–vi below.

[2] Below, p. 120.

The remaining seven books make up a roughly chronological general history. Book VII has not survived in full, and the preface has been lost. It may have been begun before or at the same time as Book VI, since it contains general material once intended for inclusion in Book V. A date between 1130/1 and 1133 is likely; the epitome of John of Bari's *Translatio Sancti Nicolai* may have been made at any time, and is simply inserted at the correct chronological place (1087). The book ends with the death of William the Conqueror, and includes a summary of his life and achievements in the form of a death-bed speech, which may have circulated as a separate work.

Book VIII was written for the most part during the lifetime of Henry I, between 1133 and 1135. The treatise on the new monastic orders was completed *c.* 1135, and probably circulated as a separate work. The entries on the last few pages may have been added *c.* 1136.

Book IX was originally numbered VI, and was written before the restructuring of the *Ecclesiastical History* in 1136/7. In its final form it dates from 1135; the lengthy abbreviation of Baudry of Bourgueil's account of the first crusade, which makes up the greater part of it, may have been made a little earlier.

Book X, written in 1135, carried the history of England and Normandy to 1101, and of the kingdom of Jerusalem a little further. Orderic may have recorded the story of Arpin of Bourges after his journey in 1132 to Cluny, where Arpin had become a monk. The story of Melaz may have been written down at an earlier date; it was probably first heard in the west at the time of Bohemond's visit to France in 1106.

Books XI and XII were written after the death of Henry I, and completed before the death of Warin of Les Essarts in June 1137. A few minor corrections were made later. Book XI ends in 1113, apart from some chapters on the history of Jerusalem and Antioch, which follow events up to 1130. Book XII ends in 1131. The section on the prophecies of Merlin, taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth, appears to have been written before the death of Henry I, though certainly not long before. This was the period when Orderic was also revising and completing Books I and II, and putting the whole work into its final shape.

Book XIII continues the history of the west from 1130, and also contains an account of Spanish history between 1100 and

1137. Abbot Warin of Les Essarts died on 21 June 1137; and part of the book was completed when the Prologue to the whole *Ecclesiastical History* was written and addressed to him.[1] A probable stopping-place occurs at the end of §28, written in the early spring of 1137. Sections 29–43 were added between 1137 and 1141; the final epilogue was written probably in September 1141, when Orderic completed his fifty-sixth year in the abbey. Section 41 was written with hindsight, probably in 1141 after the battle of Lincoln. There are some parallels in spirit between §28 and the epilogue, indicating that Orderic's original intention in 1137 had been to end the work there. Errors in chronology in §30[2] suggest a gap, possibly of two or three years, before Orderic resumed writing after Warin's death.

(ii) *Sources*

(a) *Literary sources*

In the course of writing the *Ecclesiastical History* Orderic either used, cited, or mentioned over a hundred sources, quite apart from charters and canons of councils. Some he knew intimately and used constantly; others he had seen once and abbreviated or excerpted; others were familiar to him through collections of extracts; a few he knew only at second hand, through references in other historians. His use of them varied from the passing citation of a handy aphorism, remembered from school books, to a careful and thorough reading, pondering, and analysing, that sometimes continued and helped to shape his thought and writing throughout his life.

In the forefront of the sources of fundamental importance were various books of the Bible, particularly the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and, to a lesser extent, the historical books of the Old Testament and some of the Prophets. The Psalms, like the Rule of St. Benedict, he had certainly learned by heart, and they permeated his language. The Gospels and Acts he had read and pondered, together with various commentaries on them: Bede on Luke, Mark, and the Acts;[3] Augustine on John;[4] Jerome

[1] Below, pp. 132–3.
[2] Below, vi. 482–4.
[3] Nortier, p. 201; MSS. Alençon 7, 13; Rouen 529.
[4] Nortier, p. 200; Rouen MS. 467.

and Rabanus Maurus on Matthew;[1] and for the reconciliation of all four Gospels, Augustine's *De consensu evangelistarum*.[2] He had too some acquaintance with the homilies on the Gospels of Gregory the Great and Bede,[3] probably with the *De laudibus Sancti Crucis* of Rabanus[4] and Jerome's *Prefaces*;[5] with Jerome's commentary on Ezekiel,[6] Gregory the Great's *Moralia* on Job,[7] and Pseudo-Jerome's *Quæstiones hebraicæ in libros Regum et Paralipomenon*.[8] His interpretation of names owed something, directly or indirectly, to Jerome's *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*,[9] and to Isidore's *Etymologiæ*.[10] Old Testament history provided him with parallels to the events of his own day, and was part of his permanent mental furniture. But it would not be unreasonable to claim that the long and personal study which enabled him to produce the *Life of Christ* in Book I was the foundation of his training as a historian.

This *Life of Christ* poses the question why, when monastic studies were so strongly inclined towards gospel harmonies, so few have been transmitted in manuscripts. The best-known early examples, apart from Augustine's, are vernacular: the Syrian *Tatian*, transmitted in the Old High German *Tatian* and the Old Saxon *Heliand* as well as in a Latin translation, and the *Liber Evangeliorum* of Otfrid von Weissenburg, which belongs to a slightly different genre, apparently based on a standard *lectionarium* rather than directly on the Gospels.[11] The answer may be that, whereas laymen and monks or clerks with little learning needed a vernacular gospel harmony, Augustine and the regular round of homilies based on the *lectionarium* sufficed for the more

[1] Nortier, pp. 219, 226.
[2] Nortier, p. 198; Alençon MS. 78.
[3] Cf. Nortier, p. 211; below, pp. 142, 146, 149.
[4] Cf. below, p. 149.
[5] Cf. below, p. 180; Rouen MS. 31.
[6] Below, v. 136; Nortier, p. 219, identifies twelfth-century copies at Fécamp, Bec-Hellouin, and Jumièges.
[7] Below, p. 146; iii. 8; Nortier, p. 211.
[8] Below, v. 376, 382; vi. 408; Alençon MS. 2.
[9] Below, iii. 260, and *passim*.
[10] Below, pp. 169, 173, and *passim*.
[11] See Donald A. McKenzie, *Otfrid von Weissenburg, Narrator or commentator?* (Stanford University Publications: Language and Literature, VI. 3 (1946)); Anton Schönbach, 'Otfridstudien', in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, xxxviii. 217; Rosamund McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms 789–895* (London, Royal Historical Society, 1977), 198–203.

literate. Orderic's version may be exceptional and personal rather than part of a continuing Latin tradition; but even if other Latin lives were written down and lost, it remains important for the place that it occupies in his whole conception of history, and for the method it reveals.

While not in any way neglecting allegorical or tropological interpretations of Scripture, Orderic showed in all his writings a particularly strong inclination towards the historical side of biblical exegesis.[1] The Fathers and early popes had already prepared the ground for him by sifting out sources of dubious validity; he knew something of the debate on canonical and apocryphal scriptures from the letter of Eusebius, *De canonibus evangeliorum*,[2] and from Augustine's *Contra Faustum*[3] and the introduction to *De consensu evangelistarum*. Although none of the manuscripts in his own library, corrected by him, contained at the ocryphal gospel of Nicodemus[4] he totally disregarded it; this is in striking contrast to his unhesitating acceptance of many apocryphal lives of the apostles. In establishing a chronological narrative of the life of Christ and reconciling the four Gospels he relied constantly on Augustine's *De consensu evangelistarum*, using it in conjunction with his independent selection of passages; only in the very difficult chapters relating to the appearances of Christ after the Resurrection did his reliance become total dependence, so that he copied almost verbatim. He frequently brought together passages from two, three, or even four of the Gospels and a fragment of commentary, as the following examples illustrate:

Et ymno dicto, sicut Matthaeus Marcusque commemorant, exierunt. in montem Oliueti . . . Inde uenit in prædium Gethsemani, quod interpretatur uallis pinguium siue pinguedinis [Bede, *In Marcum*], Et dixit discipulis suis, 'Sedete hic' (Matthew); 'orate ne intretis in tentationem [Luke].'[5]

[1] In this he differed from Guibert of Nogent, who tended to allow tropological interpretations to predominate in his historical work; see Jacques Chauraud, 'La conception de l'histoire de Guibert de Nogent', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, viii (1965), 384–5. For scriptural exegesis in general, and the 'three senses' as expounded by Orderic's contemporary, Hugh of St. Victor, see Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 86–90.

[2] Cf. Alençon MS. 26.

[3] Cf. Rouen MS. 484.

[4] Rouen, MS. 1343, pp. 23–33.

[5] Below, p. 147.

'Sed hæc est hora uestra et potestas tenebrarum [Luke].' Tunc discipuli omnes relicto eo fugerunt [Matthew]. Unus adolescens amictus sindone sequebatur qui cum tenuisset eum reiecta sindone nudus profugit ab eis [Mark, with Augustine, *De consensu*]. In illa turba cum adessent tribunus et cohors et ministri Iudaeorum, Saluator ligatus est, et primo ad Annam pontificum socerum Caiphæ ductus est [John, with Augustine, *De consensu*].[1]

This conflation of sources was an application of one of Augustine's principles, that differences between the Gospels occurred because the evangelists each recorded only some of the events they knew, so that they supplemented rather than conflicted with each other. Such a method, particularly suited to the use of sources of equal reliability, came to be applied with or without discrimination to other sources. Orderic used it in some parts of his history, where he had two or three sources for the same event, as for his reconstruction of the battle of Hastings.[2] To his description of the closing stages of the battle, taken principally from William of Poitiers, he added from William of Jumièges that Harold had been killed in the first onslaught, and recorded the deaths of Earl Leofwine, possibly from Florence of Worcester, and of Engenulf of Laigle from oral information. In this instance William of Jumièges was mistaken; but since he was precise and William of Poitiers vague about the time of Harold's death, Orderic's conjecture was a plausible one. In general two or three sources were the most he attempted to combine in a detailed narrative; in passages where references crowd on top of each other he was most likely using a collection of *exempla*, or citing from memory.

From his work on the *Life of Christ* he gained some experience of establishing a chronological sequence of events. Here he was indebted to Augustine, whose reconciliation of the Gospels was to a great extent followed through chronologically, and to Eusebius, Bede, and perhaps Marianus Scotus, who attempted to relate the events of Christ's life on earth to the chronological framework of world history. In this, however, the influence was reciprocal; his work among annals was used to advantage in the *Life of Christ*, where the main stages of Christ's life were clearly indicated in explanatory interpolations.

[1] Below, p. 147. [2] Below, ii. 176–8.

In another way his handling of historical material may have been influenced by the methods of biblical commentators. Exegesis moved from literal to allegorical interpretations, sometimes grouping comments by topics. Bede brought together all three of Christ's miracles of raising the dead, to explain how they showed Christ's power of raising men from the spiritual death of different kinds of sin. This passage was introduced by Orderic into his narrative at the point where, chronologically, he had reached the raising of Lazarus, and so led him into recapitulation.[1] Departure from strict chronology to look backwards or forwards in time, grouping together a number of related episodes, was a characteristic of his historical method; even in the last seven books of the *Ecclesiastical History*, where he adopted a loose framework of chronology, he often preferred to break out of it to follow a topic through a decade or more. At times, too, he would turn aside from history to develop moral analogies, after the fashion of exegesis; in these he often made use of *exempla* collected, perhaps by John of Rheims, from commentaries and moral writers.

Even in these moralizing passages his work reveals his historical interests. The difference in method between the historian and the homilist can be highlighted by comparing the way in which he and his fellow-monk, William of Merlerault, used the same set of *exempla*. Orderic, in a passage in Book VIII,[2] compared the state of Normandy during the early days of Robert Curthose's ineffectual rule to that of Israel when Joel warned that transgressors of the law were being devoured by the canker-worm, the locust, the grub, and the hopper. These four plagues, he explained, signified the four passions of the mind, namely fear and greed, sorrow and joy; and to describe the wretched condition of those shut in by the darkness of their emotions and vices he cited a couplet from Virgil on the condition of souls imprisoned for ever in the dark underworld, who fear, yearn, grieve, and rejoice. 'I find', he concluded, 'many things in the pages of Scripture which, if they are subtly interpreted, seem to resemble the happenings of our own time. But I leave the allegorical implications to be interpreted by scholars.' He may have had in mind the kind of interpretation to be found in a sermon of William of Merlerault on the parable of Dives and

[1] Below, p. 146. [2] Below, iv. 228.

Lazarus, which used the same material.[1] 'There are by nature', William explained, 'four qualities in the mind of every man, which are *gaudium, tristicia, metus* and *spes* (or *cupiditas*). The philosophers call these the passions'; and he cited the advice of Boethius to expel them from the mind: 'Gaudia pelle, pelle timorem, spemque fugate nec dolor assit.'[2] He then cited the same couplet of Virgil, whom he did not name but called 'the most learned of the poets' in the same version as that used by Orderic;[3] and he went on to explain in great detail how Jerome interpreted the four worms of Joel's prophecy as the four passions—the canker-worm corresponded to sorrow, the locust to joy, the grub to fear, and the hopper to greed or hope of future pleasures. Orderic may have heard or read William's sermon; but he did not copy directly from it, for he omitted the names of Boethius and Jerome and gave that of Virgil; it seems clear that he used the same collection of *exempla.* One may suspect a similar source in a number of places where quotations from Scripture or biblical commentary are given side by side with some moral tag from classical literature; these combinations are characteristic of collections of quotations made for use in biblical exegesis or sermons. They easily became the commonplaces of monastic learning, and were equally useful for citation in homilies and in works of history.

Finally, Orderic's familiarity with the Gospels coloured his whole moral outlook. Certain parables were constantly in his mind; he lived with them until they became an integral part of his thought.[4] Most striking, because most relevant to his own life, was the parable of the labourers in the vineyard. His work opened and closed with it; when his original Book I became Book III he placed the reference to the parable, which had begun that book, in the opening sentence of the new Book I.[5] God was the husbandman who had planted the vine of his holy Church, and sent labourers to work in it up to the eleventh hour. This

[1] Alençon MS. 149, ff. 53^{v}–54.

[2] *De consolatione philosophiae*, i. Metrum vii (ed. L. Bieler, *Corp. christ.* xciv (1957), 16–17).

[3] In this version the word 'respiciunt' replaces the original 'despiciunt'.

[4] Cf. J. Leclercq, 'L'écriture sainte dans l'hagiographie monastique du haut moyen âge', *La Biblia nell'alto medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano sull'alto medioevo, 10, Spoleto, 1963), pp. 103–28.

[5] Below, p. 134; ii. 4.

was one of the parables he expounded most fully later in the *Life of Christ*, using the commentary of Rabanus. According to Rabanus, Abel laboured at the first hour, Noah at the third, Abraham at the sixth, Moses at the ninth; Christ came at the eleventh hour. Alternatively, the various hours might be interpreted to mean the various ages of man; morning stood for boyhood (*puericia*), the other hours for adolescence, youth, old age, and decrepitude; men are converted at different ages, yet all receive the same reward of eternal life. A hand drawn in the margin pointed to the phrase, 'Mane puericia est';[1] and in the Epilogue to the whole *Ecclesiastical History* Orderic returned to the parable and related to it his monastic profession as a boy of ten. His father, in sending him away, had promised him in God's name that if he became a monk he would share the joys of paradise with the Innocents; and at the end of his life of labour in the vineyard, where he had borne the burden and heat of the day, he waited in confidence for the promised reward.[2]

Once removed from the firm foundations of some 700 years of biblical study Orderic was less sure in his judgement. His account of the early Church and the apostles first followed the canonical book of the Acts, with the commentary of Bede and the verse exposition of Arator, but was soon floundering in a bog of apocryphal writings. For these he showed a predilection characteristic of his own time; the sure guidance of Augustine that had enabled him to ignore the 'Gospel of Nicodemus' was no longer available to turn him from the many apocryphal lives of the apostles;[3] the *Recognitiones* of Pseudo-Clement, the writings of Pseudo-Marcellus, Pseudo-Linus, Pseudo-Hegesippus, and above all Pseudo-Abdias, together with many other late and unreliable *Vitae* and *Passiones*, provided the substance of his history. Peter's struggles with the legendary Simon Magus, so important in all the legendary histories, constantly intruded into Orderic's narrative. From the long account of Pseudo-Clement Orderic extracted a bare outline of some of Peter's journeys,

[1] Below, pp. 143–4; the hand may have been drawn by Orderic himself. There were many other possible interpretations of this parable; when William of Merlerault preached on the same text he followed Gregory the Great in suggesting that the vine might represent the rational soul, the labourers the 'rationales sensus' (Alençon MS. 149, ff. 20–21^{v}).

[2] Below, vi. 554.

[3] See below, Book II, *passim*.

dwelling only on his alleged struggles with Simon Magus, on his miracles of healing, and on the story of Clement's almost miraculous discovery of his long-lost parents. The philosophical discussions which fill many pages of the *Recognitiones* were reduced to two or three short sentences asserting the justice and providence of God.[1] For the mission of Peter and Paul to Rome, Orderic had four apocryphal records, as well as the relevant *Acta* of St. Nereus and St. Achilles, from which he built up a composite narrative much as he had woven together the four gospels for the *Life of Christ*; the difference lay in the quality of the sources. The account of St. Paul was given a little more validity by his use of the canonical Acts as well as the apocryphal *Passiones*.

In spite of the patience of his researches, evident in the way in which he used the *Vitae* of some saints to illustrate the lives of others they had known, or the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius where it was relevant, he could rarely find more than two, or at most three, sources of information about the other apostles. The chapter devoted to each saint opened with a paragraph summarizing his life and achievement, possibly modelled on Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, and giving an explanation of the meaning of his name, derived in part at least from Isidore's *Etymologiæ*; each closed with a prayer or hymn taken from the liturgy. The main narrative was a summary of the saint's journeys, miracles of healing, and martyrdom. For the accounts of Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon, and Thaddeus, Orderic depended almost exclusively on the collection of legends now known as the Pseudo-Abdias, which had recently come into his hands, and which he treasured greatly. For John he was able to supplement this source with Pseudo-Mellitus; and he had a second account of Andrew's martyrdom, the *Passio beati Andreæ apostoli*, which in time found its way into the office

[1] In a three day debate in reply to an assertion of Faustinianus, 'quod *neque Deus est neque cultus neque prouidentia in mundo; sed fortuitus casus et genesis agunt omnia*', the following arguments are summarized: 'Primo die Niceta sapienter allegauit quod *unus est Deus omnia tenens, et mundum fecit*, suaque *prouidentia gubernat, iustus Deus unicuique secundum gesta sua quandoque redditurus*. Secundo Aquila eloquenter disseruit quod iustus Deus omnia iuste disponit. Tertio, Clemens de ratione *genesis* disputationem fecit, utrum *omnia* ex ea *fierent*, an esset *aliquid in nobis* quod non genesis, sed Dei iudicium gereret.' The words in italics are taken from the *Recognitiones*, viii. 5–6, ix. 1–3.

of the saint.[1] His life of James came chiefly from Eusebius; of Barnabas from the canonical Acts, Eusebius, and the *Acts of Barnabas*; of Mark from the *Acta Sancti Marci* supplemented by the *Passio Hermagore et Fortunati*. This part of Orderic's work virtually consists of *historiæ* in the liturgical sense: accounts of each saint's life suitable for reading in church on his feast day, with a verse or two of a hymn from the office for that day. Occasionally the abbreviated saints' lives that Orderic introduced into later books of his *Ecclesiastical History* ended with a prayer or hymn and were of a similar pattern. They formed an integral part of his historical narrative, which he had no need to justify since their place in the daily life of the monastery was assured. Copying such *Acta* and meditating on them filled a large part of his life. For all that, they occupy a relatively minor place in his *History*. They contributed to his intellectual formation, but other sources that he used were of far greater importance for his work as a historian.

Bede was the historian most frequently in Orderic's mind as he wrote; in Bede's life he found a parallel to his own; the example of Bede's work inspired and encouraged him. There was no single model for Orderic's *Ecclesiastical History*, which indeed is unique, but Bede pointed the way and constantly provided a model for the form and content of different parts of it. Orderic had a familiarity with Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* that began with copying it;[2] in the Epilogue he read Bede's account of his life, which he copied into the general epitome of history that he wove round the framework of the *Acta* of the archbishops of Rouen.[3] The story of the boy who became an oblate monk in Wearmouth at the age of seven, was ordained deacon at nineteen and priest at thirty, and spent his whole life within the confines of his monastery, studying Scripture, learning, teaching, and writing during the intervals of monastic observance; who made extracts from the Scriptures and works of the venerable Fathers, to which he added notes of his own, and in his fifty-ninth year ended his *Ecclesiastical History*, might, with the alteration of a very few words, have been that of Orderic himself. Orderic

[1] Mombritius, i. 106–7; cf. the office for the Nativity of St. Andrew in *Brev. Sar.*, iii. 8–10, 21–2.

[2] Rouen MS. 1343.

[3] Below, iii. 66–8.

entered Saint-Évroul as a child oblate at the age of ten; he was ordained deacon at eighteen and priest at thirty-two; his life was spent within the same kind of monastic surroundings, occupied with the same studies and duties, as that of Bede. Perhaps the suggestion in the Preface to Book IX, that at sixty he was almost past the age for writing history, was due to his consciousness of the age at which Bede had brought his own great work to a close. Orderic's Epilogue, when he came to write it six years later, was modelled on that of Bede, with the difference that he had virtually no other works to list, having brought together a multitude of studies under a single title, and that he saw his life's work less in literary composition than in his daily life as priest and monk.

His debt to Bede is apparent in every part of his work. Of the scriptural commentaries quoted by him those of Bede occur most frequently. In the short chronicle of world events that made up the second part of Book I he included the chronicle of Bede, copied with very few omissions and modifications from chapter 66 of *De temporum ratione*.[1] The same work, from which he had copied extracts, provided him with some synchronisms for the time of Christ and with methods of calculating dates of Easter and cycles of the moon.[2] But in arithmetic and the computus he had not the skill of his master; in several places he showed himself incapable of even applying correctly the principles which Bede had worked out for himself. He had more success in his grasp of the scope of history, and its application both to the Norman people and to the whole Church up to his own time. Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* was also used by him as a work of reference in many places;[3] and it was certainly, along with a handful of others, one of the works that most fired his historical imagination.

The other historical works which were constantly in his mind and at the tip of his pen were the *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, the *Historia Langobardorum* of Paul the Deacon, the *Gesta Guillelmi* of William of Poitiers and, to a lesser extent, the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* of William of Jumièges, and the *Liber Pontificalis*. These gave him examples, as Bede had done, of world chronicles and the history of particular peoples.

[1] Below, pp. 150–1.
[2] Cf. below, iv. 238; vi. 298, 299 n. 3.
[3] e.g. cf. below pp. 151–2; iii. 54, 60; vi. 318–20, 382.

Eusebius had produced the chronicle which Orderic knew in the translation of Rufinus, with the continuations of Jerome and, later, Marianus Scotus and Sigebert of Gembloux; it was probably the source, directly or indirectly, of his references to the four great Empires and the decline of the first three, and it provided him with early dates.[1] The *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius was sometimes cited from memory, sometimes quoted extensively, in a number of different places,[2] and gave him one model of a general history of the whole Church. Three of the other works were concerned with particular peoples. Paul the Deacon was his source for early Lombard history;[3] he and Bede were named together as examples of learned historians who had left accounts of the places of origin of Lombards and English, and of how they had conquered Lombardy and Britain. This was to be the pattern of Orderic's handling of the Norman people, whose history he carried on from Dudo of Saint-Quentin and William of Jumièges. Dudo was named several times, but used sparingly;[4] Orderic's intimate knowledge of William's work, which he had copied and almost certainly interpolated, enabled him to extract appropriate passages from it, and also to make use of information learned from it on the various occasions when he recapitulated the early history of the Normans.[5] Possibly he cherished a hope that, since both these men had written with encouragement from Norman dukes, he might one day be encouraged to write the history of Henry I, for whom his admiration knew no bounds. But Henry, unlike his predecessors, appears to have commissioned no history of his acts; had he wished for one, changed political conditions and the extent of his rule over an Anglo-Norman *regnum* would have made it a chapter in a *Gesta regum* rather than in a *Gesta Normannorum*.

Within the Norman tradition Orderic also used the *Gesta Guillelmi* of William of Poitiers, from which he copied long passages in his account of the invasion and conquest of England. Here, although so many words and phrases were lifted from his

[1] Below, ii. 186, 274.
[2] Below, pp. 167, 168, 175, 187; iii. 48; v. 120.
[3] Below, pp. 151, 152, 196; iii. 58–74 *passim*; Rouen MS. 31 ff. 163–251^{v}.
[4] Below, ii. 2; iii. 304.
[5] See below, Index of quotations, ii. 372; iv. 358; Rouen MS. 1174; Marx, pp. 151–98. Orderic followed William of Jumièges in attributing a Danish origin to the Normans (below, ii. 6).

source that some passages from the lost chapters of the work may be partially reconstructed by comparing quotations from Orderic with Miles Crispin's *Vita Lanfranci* or the *Liber Eliensis*, the quotations were deliberately selective. Orderic omitted most of the classical allusions and comparisons, and introduced instead various moral comments.[1] It is possible that Saint-Évroul did not possess a copy of this book, which does not occur in the library catalogue, and that Orderic borrowed it for consultation while he was writing Books III and IV. Elsewhere he occasionally echoed its language, or repeated information that might have come from it, but there are no later references that could not have come either from his memory, or from brief notes taken when the text was available to him.[2]

A copy of the *Liber Pontificalis*, in the version of Adhémar of Chabannes was in the library of Saint-Évroul;[3] from this a second, modified and slightly condensed, copy was made with the assistance of Orderic himself.[4] This second copy, which represents an intermediate stage between the original *Liber Pontificalis* and one section of the *Ecclesiastical History*, illustrates the care that Orderic sometimes gave to the chronological work preparatory to his own final version. Very occasionally he introduced an editorial correction in copying; he substituted the name of Claudius for that of Nero as the emperor in whose reign St. Peter began his twenty-five years in Rome, and this correction was retained in the chronology of the popes in Book II,[5] for which the *Liber Pontificalis* was the principal source up to Leo IV. Orderic used the book selectively, by abbreviating the longer entries and inserting supplementary material; this included besides further facts about the historical background extracts from the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, assigning specific legislation to some early popes.[6] The influence of the *Liber Pontificalis*

[1] Below, ii, *passim*, especially pp. 168–208.
[2] Below, iii. 16; iv. 84, 88.
[3] Alençon MS. 18.
[4] Rouen MS. 31; the first folios are in Orderic's hand.
[5] Cf. Alençon MS. 18, f. 9, 'ingressus urbem Romam sub Nerone Cesare . . .'; Rouen MS. 31, f. 10, 'ingressus urbem Romam sub Claudio Cesare . . .' (this passage is written in Orderic's hand); and below, p. 99.
[6] The *Liber Pontificalis* lent itself to such treatment, since some of the lives included a summary of legislation; cf. a similar combination of sources, using far more extensive extracts from the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, in the *Vitæ Romanorum pontificum* of the Pseudo-Liutprand (Migne, *PL* cxxix. 1149–1256),

extended to another part of the *Ecclesiastical History*; directly or indirectly it must, as a model for a biographical series, have inspired the history of the archbishops of Rouen, which Orderic wrote around the distichs describing each prelate. While it is true that his more immediate source was the *Acta archiepiscoporum rothomagensium*, which gave him some facts about the early archbishops, that he probably knew of the existence of the *Acta pontificum Cenomannis* then being composed at Le Mans, where Hildebert of Lavardin, the friend of Baudry of Bourgueil, was bishop, and that he had some knowledge, perhaps through John of Rheims, of the *Historia ecclesiae remensis* of Flodoard,[1] all these works owed their conception to the *Liber Pontificalis*.

In a totally different way, the *Historia Ierosolimitana* of Baudry of Bourgueil was a formative influence on Orderic; it was his principal source for almost the whole of Book IX, and gave him a model for a kind of history so new that it lay outside the scope of Eusebius, Bede, and early Norman and papal historians: the history of the crusades. 'Never, I believe', he wrote, 'has a more glorious subject been given to historians who write of war.' He followed the method that Baudry himself had used in handling the narrative of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*; sometimes he copied almost word for word, but he used his discretion in abbreviating some lengthy passages and expanding others to include stories brought back by participants in the crusade.[2] For the later crusades and the history of the kingdom of Jerusalem, however, he had no written sources and his handling of events, as in all the contemporary parts of his history, became quite different.

Many other sources were used for isolated sections of the *Ecclesiastical History*. His account of Frankish history in the ninth century relied heavily on the short *Historia Francorum senonensis*, of which he had a copy.[3] He certainly used some other French annals, as yet unidentified, and possibly the chronicle of Hugh of Fleury. The *Annales Sancti Ebrulfi*, based up to 1087 on the *Annals* of Rouen, supplied a framework of dates and facts for

who probably wrote between 1077 and 1085 in the circle of Benno of Osnabrück (W. Levison, 'Die Papstgeschichte des Pseudo-Liutprand', *Neues Archiv*, xxxvi (1911), 417–38).

[1] Below, iii. 280. [2] Below, v. 4, 188–90, and *passim*.
[3] Below, pp. 154–5; iv, pp. xvi–xvii, 343–51.

early history;[1] the *Annales Beccenses* for the abbots of Bec-Hellouin.[2] For early British history he certainly used 'Nennius', whom he mistook for Gildas;[3] he may also have seen the work of Gildas, but more probably knew it through Bede;[4] after the narrative of Bede ended he possibly relied for the facts of British history on notes taken from the *Chronicon ex chronicis* of Florence of Worcester.[5] His sources for German history were scanty, but he seems to have seen the account, now lost, of Henry V's journey to Rome in 1112 by David, later bishop of Bangor.[6] He must have had a written source, which has since disappeared, for his description of Norway.[7]

At any appropriate moment in the more general history he might introduce an abbreviation of a saint's life; in addition to the various apocryphal acts of the apostles he abbreviated the *Vita Sancti Martialis* wrongly attributed to Aurelian;[8] two *Vitae Sancti Iudoci* and a collection of Judoc's miracles compiled by William of Merlerault;[9] the *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* attributed to Felix;[10] *Vita Sancti Taurini*;[11] *Vita Sancti Guillelmi*;[12] a late version of the *Vita Sancti Ebrulfi*;[13] and the *Translatio Sancti Nicholai* attributed to John of Bari.[14] He also cited a *Vita Sancti Silvestri*,[15] Jerome's *Vita Sancti Pauli eremitae*;[16] the *Relatio Sancti Walarici*,[17] *Acta Sancti Sebastiani*,[18] *Vita Sancti Cenerici*,[19] the *Vita beati Martini* of Sulpicius Severus,[20] and the *Vita Sancti Mauri* of Odo of Glanfeuil (Pseudo-Faustus).[21] He probably also used the *Vita Sancti Godardi*,[22] a *Vita Sancti Botulphi* of which Saint-Évroul possessed a copy,[23] and the *Visio Sancti Eucherii*;[24] he knew and mentioned with admiration Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi*,

[1] Cf. below, pp. 152–4; ii. 369–70; iii, pp. xxvi, 74–84, 94.
[2] Below, iii. 12. [3] Below, vi. 382 n. 2. [4] Below, v. 298–300.
[5] Below, p. 157; ii. 188. [6] Below, v. 198.
[7] Below, v. pp. xii, 220; L. Musset, 'Les relations littéraires Franco-Scandinaves au Moyen Âge', *Les congrès et colloques de l'université de Liège*, 73 (1975), 205, confirms that this appears to have been based on a written record.
[8] Below, p. 190. [9] Below, ii. 156–66, 366–7.
[10] Below, ii. 322–38. [11] Below, iii. 38–46. [12] Below, iii. 218–26.
[13] Below, iii. 264–302, 363–4. [14] Below, iv. 54–68.
[15] Below, p. 194. [16] Below, iv. 316–8. [17] Below, p. 155.
[18] Below, iv. 24. [19] Below, iv. 156. [20] Below, iv. 328.
[21] Below, iv. 316.
[22] Below, iii, p. xxvii, where there is further reference to the lives of other Rouen saints.
[23] Below, vi. 150; Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 13092, ff. 110–13.
[24] Below, vi. 154.

which he had seen at Bec-Hellouin,[1] and he expressed disagreement with a treatise, *De translatione Sancti Ebrulfi* at Rebais.[2] His taste for the marvellous led him to cherish legendary histories; he used a lost *Gesta Romanorum* for a legendary account of the early history of Rouen.[3] And he was the earliest historian to copy the *Prophetia Merlini* which formed a part of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum*;[4] it came into his hands almost as soon as it was composed. If he had a written source for the prophecy of the German hermit on the fate of Normandy after the death of the Conqueror it is no longer known; but he probably heard the story from Samson, the queen's messenger, who became a monk at Saint-Évroul. Dares Phrygius, mentioned with approval in his Prologue, was the source for the oft-repeated legend of the Trojan origin of the Franks;[5] Pompeius Trogus was cited in several places from the epitome of Justin.[6]

Some other sources mentioned and possibly seen by him may not have been used directly. Josephus and Tertullian were quoted at some length from Eusebius;[7] Hegesippus was probably known either from the same source or from Jerome's *De viris illustribus*;[8] the Epistles of Gregory the Great probably from Bede.[9] Isidore and Orosius were both mentioned in passing,[10] Sigebert of Gembloux was mentioned and probably used.[11] Among the writers of his own day Orderic referred to the poem of Guy of Amiens on the battle of Hastings, which may be the *Carmen de Hastingæ prœlio*,[12] the *De rebus gestis Rogerii* of Geoffrey of Malaterra,[13] and the *Historia Hierosolymitana* of Fulcher of Chartres;[14] and his references are so explicit that he must either have seen or had a first-hand description of these works, though his narrative is frequently wholly at variance with theirs, and

[1] Below, ii. 294 n. 3; v. 206, 252.
[2] Below, iii. 306. 314, 322.
[3] Below, iii, pp. xxv, 36; vi. 280–2.
[4] Below, vi. 380–8.
[5] Below, p. 130; ii. 275 n. 3; iii. 54.
[6] Below, v. 120, 136, 334.
[7] Below, pp. 167, 168; Saint-Évroul, however, possessed copies of both the *Antiquitates Judaïcæ* and the *De Bello Judaïco* of Josephus (Nortier, p. 219).
[8] Below, p. 181.
[9] Below, iv. 318.
[10] Below, p. 130.
[11] Below, pp. 152–4; ii. 188, where Orderic wrongly calls him Engelbert.
[12] Below, ii. 184–6. The identification of the poem of Guy of Amiens mentioned by Orderic has been the subject of long debate. The case for its identification as the anonymous *Carmen de Hastingæ Prœlio* has been made by Catherine Morton and Hope Muntz in their edition of the *Carmen* (Oxford Medieval Texts; Oxford, 1972); but the debate has been reopened by R. H. C. Davis, 'The *Carmen de Hastingæ Prœlio*', *EHR* cccLxvii (1978), 241–61.
[13] Below, ii. 100.
[14] Below, v. 6.

there is no place where he can be proved to have used them.

Certain literary and moral sources that he used to illustrate his history may have been cited from collections of *exempla*. When a point is driven home by quotations from Virgil, Boethius, Jerome, and Joel,[1] or Virgil, Ovid, the Book of Proverbs, and the Rule of St. Benedict,[2] or reference to Phineas, Persius, Plautus, and contemporary poets,[3] some such source is almost certain. The classical poets, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Terence, were almost certainly known either from *florilegia* or from *exempla*;[4] Orderic probably had a slightly greater acquaintance with Lucan's *Pharsalia*, which is sometimes mentioned in more general terms.[5] There is no reason to suppose that one or two pieces of information which might have been derived ultimately from Pliny came to him directly from that source.[6] The comparison of Lanfranc to Herodian in grammar, Aristotle in dialectic, and Cicero in rhetoric may have been either an echo of earlier schooling or a quotation from the lost part of William of Poitiers.[7] It was probably as a result of his formal schooling that he compared the style of William of Poitiers to that of Sallust, the traditional model for the moral cast of historical writing,[8] and that he thought the time in which Cassiodorus and Priscian flourished worthy of mention.[9]

(b) *Documentary sources*

In addition to the theological, literary, and historical works in the abbey's library, Orderic had an abundance of documentary sources to help him in his task. The wreck of the abbey's archives prevents us from knowing whether he had any share in copying the charters of his house; one fragment of an early charter roll, written *c.* 1100, which has survived, has some scribal similarities, but it is not in his hand.[10] Only one original charter remains from this period. Orderic copied the diploma of Charles the Simple to the first community of Saint-Évroul, and for some reason ignored

[1] Cf. above, pp. 52–3. [2] Below, iii. 4. [3] Below, iv. 190.
[4] Cf. Wolter, *Ord. Vit.*, pp. 224–5. [5] Below, v. 280; vi. 212.
[6] Below, iv. 298 n. 3; vi. 208 n. 2. [7] Below, ii. 250.
[8] Cf. Beryl Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages* (London, 1974), pp. 19–20.
[9] Below, iii. 58. Other authors cited by him include Fulgentius (*Mithologiae*), below, iv. 44; Prudentius (*Peristephanon*), below, vi. 402; Thierry of Saint-Trond (*De mirabilibus mundi*), below, iv. 130.
[10] Bibl. nat. MS. nouv. acq. lat. 2527.

its contents in reconstructing the early history of his house.[1] But he had intimate knowledge of the abbey's charters from 1050 onwards, and made substantial use of them. In enumerating the professions of the monks and naming their kinsfolk he probably used the roll of the monks and their relatives, now lost, which was kept in the church for commemoration.[2] His knowledge of some early cases in the abbot's court apparently came from charters or notices recording gifts made in satisfaction for earlier offences.[3] The precision of his references to abbatial elections before his time may be due to the use of letters or documents relating to these elections. A letter as important as Abbot Osbern's to Pope Alexander II, asking pardon for his intrusion by ducal force into the abbey, was copied in full by Orderic; so too were the letters relating to the election and resignation of Roger of Le Sap.[4]

Whole sections of his history of the abbey were based on charters of donation either to the abbey itself or to its priories of Parnes, La Chapelle, Maule, and Auffay.[5] Charters at this time were usually records of previously witnessed acts of donation, in the process of becoming instruments for the legal transfer of seisin.[6] To Orderic the ceremony that preceded their drafting and authentication was of paramount importance. He thought of gifts in the setting in which they were made, while treasuring the charters always as a record of the concession and sometimes for their elegant style. Many of the earliest had narrative elements and could easily be worked into his history, with the assistance, from the last decade of the eleventh century, of his own memory.[7] He was certainly present on the occasion of the dedication of the abbey church in 1099, when William of Breteuil laid his charter of donation on the altar, which was still damp from the holy water sprinkled in consecration.[8] Ansold of Maule's first major gift to Maule in 1106 seems to have been made in his feudal court, when he declared his eldest son Peter the heir of all his

[1] Alençon MS. 14, ff. 38–38^{v}; cf. below, iii, pp. xvi–xvii.
[2] Below, ii. 114, 150. [3] Below, ii. 62–4, 80–2.
[4] Below, ii. 108–12; v. 262–4; vi. 322.
[5] Below, ii. 30–40, 84–6, 120, 130, 152–4; iii. 122–40, 152–6, 172–92, 200–10, 230–54; iv. 136–8; v. 266–8. The forged charters of Crowland were one of Orderic's sources for the early history of Crowland; see below, ii. 338–44.
[6] See M. Chibnall, 'Charter and chronicle', in *Church and Government in the Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher Brooke *et al.* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 1–17.
[7] For his use of charters see below, iii, pp. xx–xxiv.
[8] Below, iii. 130.

property, and a record was made by the herald of the names of the vassals who did homage to Peter. Since Orderic was in France at this time he may have been a witness of the ceremony, and he had certainly seen the written record.[1] Personal knowledge too enabled him to describe Henry I's visit to Saint-Évroul in 1113, when the king spent two days in the abbey, looked into its affairs, and promised to confirm its property. The actual charter was drafted later in the monastery, and sent after the king to Rouen to receive the royal seal.[2]

For the earlier period, though he might receive some help from the recollections of older monks, Orderic had to rely far more heavily on the documents themselves to reconstruct the process of donation and the ceremonies behind the records. Since some of the most important documents were pancartes a certain amount of chronological confusion arose. The scribe drafting these multiple charters was confronted by 'the difficulty of recording in the present tense a series of acts spread over years, and of referring to the moment of the original *donatio* much that was subsequent to it'.[3] Consequently, any historian, medieval or later, basing his narrative on a pancarte alone is liable to assign far too many gifts and concessions to the year named in the document. Among the abbey's multiple charters, Orderic did not attempt to dramatize William I's general confirmation of the English possessions in 1081; he merely copied it verbatim.[4] But he told the stories both of the foundation of the priory of Maule in 1076,[5] and of the refoundation of the abbey of Saint-Évroul in 1050, by interspersing sections copied word for word from the pancartes with passages of narrative.[6] He tended to cling tenaciously to the dates of the documents, so that events spread over several years were telescoped into a few months. There were special difficulties in reconstructing the process of the refoundation. He learned much from the traditions of the monastery, and these enabled him to establish a clearer sequence than would have been possible from the pancartes alone; but he could never free himself from the tyranny of the date 1050.

The manuscript tradition of the foundation charters of Saint-

[1] Below, iii. 182–4; vi. 74. [2] Below, vi. 174–6.
[3] V. H. Galbraith, 'Monastic foundation charters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, iv (1932–4), 205–22.
[4] Below, iii. 232–40. [5] Below, iii. 172–8. [6] Below, ii. 30–40.

Évroul is a highly complex one, and detailed analysis of the documents is necessary to understand how Orderic used them. There were two versions (*B* and *C*) of the original pancarte recording and confirming gifts to Saint-Évroul; both originals are lost, but copies survive in the abbey's thirteenth-century cartulary[1] and in later transcripts. The text published by Marie Fauroux lists all textual variations.[2] The first version survives in the cartulary copy (*B*) and one seventeenth-century copy (*F*). It is undated, but has seventeen *signa*. Marie Fauroux suggested that it was drafted in the abbey, but never actually taken to Duke William for confirmation. For the second version we have the cartulary copy (*C*) and two eighteenth-century copies (*D* and *E*), made from an original by Dom Lenoir, which include fourteen *signa* accidentally omitted in the cartulary copy. This version is dated at Lyons-la-Forêt in 1050, and carries fifty-five *signa*, including those of the duke, several bishops and leading magnates, the founders, and numerous benefactors. There are over seventy variant readings, but almost all consist of minor differences of spelling, particularly of proper names, or are obviously due to carelessness in copying. A few, slightly more substantial, are due to different ways of describing the same gift. But the second version differs substantially from the first both in the wording of the grant of free election at the beginning of the charter, and in two major insertions, one of which relates to elections, between the dating clause and the *signa*.

Orderic's use of the lost originals raises the question of the form in which he found them. Even in their original versions pancartes normally included gifts spread over some years; subsequently they grew by accretion, as later gifts were recorded in the margins along with the names of witnesses to the ceremony of donation, and then inserted into the main text when a clean copy was made. Orderic's spelling of names does not exactly correspond with that in any one of the later copies, and may be closer to the spelling of the originals. If the more substantial minor textual variations are compared with the text of Orderic it is immediately clear that he used both versions of the pancarte.

[1] Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 11055, vol. i, nos. 14, 15 (ff. 15–17).
[2] Fauroux, no. 122.

Orderic ii. 34–8	Pancarte *B*	Pancarte *C*
(1) cum terra presbyteri Adelelmi et decimationem totius siluæ ad eandem uillam pertinentis tam de suibus quam de nummis.	cum terra presbiteri Adelelmi et decimationem tocius silue ad eandem uillam pertinentis	cum terra presbiteri necnon et decimationem tocius silue ad eandem uillam pertinentis tam de suibus quam de nummis
(2) æcclesiam sancti Martini super fluuium Waioli	ecclesiam sancti Martini	ecclesiam sancti Martini qui sita est super fluuium Vuaiolii[1]
(3) cum terra presbyteri et medietatem terræ suæ totius uillæ	cum terra presbiteri et medietatem terre sue tocius uille	cum terra presbiteri et decima tocius uille
(4) aliud uero in Moenai in honore sanctæ Mariæ et medietatem eiusdem Moenai quam tenebat Rodbertus ipso etiam annuente. Vnam etiam de Ternant	alium autem in Moenai terramque Roberti, unam etiam de Ternant	alium autem in Moenai in honore Sancte Marie
(5) et dimidium uirgulti sancti Serenici, piscationesque in Sarta ad placitum monachroum ibi habitantium, sanctamque Mariam de monte Wandelen	et dimidietatem uirgulti Sancti Serenici, piscationesque in Salto ad placitum, et Sanctam Mariam de Monte Guantelen	et dimidietatem uirgulti Sancti Serenici, piscationesque in Sarto ad placitum habitatorum ipsius predicti loci

In these five examples Orderic once followed the wording of *B* (3) and once that of *C* (2); in three places he took some information from each (1, 4, 5).[2] Further, in describing the formal granting of the charter and listing those present he used the dating clause and witness lists of *C*. Elsewhere he sometimes added information not in either version, such as Hugh of Grandmesnil's grant in Neufmarché, which was almost certainly made a

[1] Below, ii. 36 n. 1, 'is peculiar to Orderic', should be corrected to 'was taken by Orderic from pancarte C'.

[2] One phrase, 'Inter hæc, audiens quidam miles bonus Guado de Drocas cundonauit ecclesiam sitam super Arua', which in the cartulary occurs in pancarte *B* only was probably omitted accidentally from *C* by the scribe, since it is in the *D* version. Orderic added from his own knowledge that the dedication of the church was to St. Michael.

few years later, and the names of a number of persons, including the vassals of William of Montreuil who surrendered the churches they held from him to Saint-Évroul. One of these vassals was William Provost of Les Augerons, who according to Orderic's narrative gave up the church and vill of Les Augerons when his nephew, William Gregory, became an oblate monk at Saint-Évroul about ten years later.[1] Here the pancarte either recorded a promise or incorporated the record of a later gift; it is not clear whether Orderic used the original document with marginal accretions, or supplemented his narrative from a separate charter or charter roll or from the memories of his fellow monks.

So far we have been dealing with the authentic record: the complex story of endowment in two lost documents and the recorded memories of the earliest monks. Certain clauses, however, stand out as obvious later interpolations, perhaps even as forgeries; those most open to suspicion are the election clauses in *C*. Immediately after the clause freeing the church of Saint-Évroul from its earlier subjection to the abbot of Bec-Hellouin (a clause which is identical in both versions), *B* continues with the duke's statement that, at the request of Robert of Grandmesnil, he has granted that the election of the abbot shall be freely made by the monks, in accordance with the requirements of the Rule, and that the choice is not to be influenced by friendship, kinship, or money. On the other hand *C*, which is much longer, describes the circumstances of the election of Thierry, the first abbot, and adds that Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, in return for the benefits of fraternity for himself and his successors in the see, granted that if he or they should ever unjustly refuse to bless an abbot the monks might have recourse to a bishop of their choice. Then at the end of the charter, just before the *signa*, two substantial clauses are interpolated. The first states that with regard to the election of an abbot by the monks it is to be made according to the precepts of the Rule; the second is not concerned with elections, but records an undertaking by the founders and their vassals not to give or sell any churches or tithes to anyone without first offering them to Saint-Évroul. The variations in the election clauses may be set out as follows:[2]

[1] Below, ii. 84–6.

[2] Words common to Orderic and one or both of the pancartes are printed in italics.

Orderic (ii. 16)

Hugo et *Rotbertus* a duce accepta licentia eligendi abbatem Gemmeticum expetierunt, et a domno Rotberto eiusdem æcclesiæ abbate *Teodericum* monachum ad abbatiæ suæ regimen requisierunt. (ii. 38) *Tituli* quoque *principalis priuilegio* Vticensem *æcclesiam insignauit, ut libera et ab omni* extranea *subiectione* in perpetuum *maneat immunis. De electione autem abbatis loci eiusdem totum concessit consilio fratrum, salua tamen regularis disciplinæ ratione, id est ut non amiciciæ aut consanguinitatis aut certe pecuniæ amor uota eligentium corrumpat.*'

Pancarte B

. . . hanc ipsam *ecclesiam* seu rerum commutatione seu premiorum largitione a priori subiectione resoluimus et *tituli principalis priuilegio insign*imus, *ut libera et ab omni subjectione maneat immunis. De electione autem abbatis loci ejusdem,* intercedente Roberto fideli meo, hoc *totum concedo consilio fratrum,* tam ego quam successores mei, *salua tamen regularis discipline ratione, id est ut non amicitie aut consanguinitatis aut certe pecunie amor uota eligentium corrumpat.*

Pancarte C

. . . hanc ipsam *ecclesiam* seu rerum commutatione seu premiorum largitione a priori subjectione resoluimus et *tituli principalis priuilegio insign*imus, *ut libera et ab omni subjectione maneat immunis. De electione autem abbatis loci ejusdem,* intercedente Roberto fideli meo, hoc *totum concedo consilio fratrum,* tam ego quam successores mei, absque potestate mei siue cujuslibet in arbitrio monachorum solummodo pendeat. Quod etiam completum est in prima ordinatione abbatis *Theoderici* ejusdem loci, eligentibus *Roberto* atque Willelmo ejus auunculo, scilicet constitutoribus ipsius loci, aliisque monachis, ordinante Lisiocacensi Hugone episcopo qui hoc etiam ex sua parte, ut tam ipse quam sui successores participes sint beneficii predicti loci, constituit, si ipse aliquando uel ejus successores causa alicujus non recte occasionis abbatem ordinare renuerint, illos perrecturos ad quemcumque maluerint . . . [at the end of the charter, with other interpolated clauses, above the *signa*] Quod autem *de* ordinatione *abbatis* in arbitrio monachorum esse superius diximus omni obseruatione atque sub omnium in Christo fidelium execratione precipimus ut ab illis *non* aliqua injusta *amicicia corrup*tis *regule* institutoris preceptum obseruetur.

It is immediately apparent that the new election clauses in *C* are clumsy interpolations. The phrase, 'Quod etiam completum est', is singularly ill chosen as a link between the original guarantee and the interpolation, and leads straight into a contradiction by saying that the promise of complete freedom of election by the monks was demonstrated in the election of the first abbot, who was chosen by the founders. If there is nothing illogical in the promise attributed to the bishop of Lisieux, historical probability is against it. The early years of the abbey witnessed both pressure from the patrons and several unavailing struggles against ducal intervention.[1] The choice of Robert of Grandmesnil after Thierry of Mathonville's resignation in 1059, though made by the monks, certainly owed something to the pressure of a powerful and able patron. He proved, in the event, unacceptable to Duke William for political reasons, and in 1061 he was driven into exile in south Italy. Duke William treated the abbey as vacant and intruded Osbern, previously prior of Cormeilles. After the death of Osbern in 1066 the duke set aside two names proposed by the monks, and instead appointed their prior, Mainer. Both Osbern and Mainer were chosen with the advice of Norman prelates, and both made admirable abbots; nevertheless the elections were not free, and had the monks interpolated the first, apparently genuine, clause guaranteeing freedom at this time there would have been no grounds for surprise. There was, however, as far as we know, no trouble of any kind with the bishop of Lisieux, the venerable Hugh, who seems to have been greatly revered at Saint-Évroul.[2] Moreover, episcopal rights were then far less rigid than they were to become, and Orderic was later to comment on the way the bishops of Lisieux, Évreux, and Séez willingly performed dedications and consecrations in each other's dioceses whenever necessary, without rancour or litigation.[3] Thierry was blessed by Hugh, bishop of Lisieux, and Robert of Grandmesnil by William, bishop of Évreux. Both Osbern and Mainer were blessed by Hugh; in each case the bishop acted promptly

[1] Below, ii. 74, 90–2, 144–6. The early elections at Saint-Évroul have been discussed by J. Yver, 'Autour de l'absence d'avouerie en Normandie', *BSAN* lvii (1965), 271–9.

[2] Orderic described his death with reverence, and showed the contrast in character between him and his successor, Gilbert Maminot (1077–1101); see below, iii. 14–22.

[3] Below, ii. 78.

at the request of the monks, backed by ducal approval.[1] Other abbeys were not without their difficulties. There was trouble at Mont Saint-Michel during the long vacancy of 1058–60; it was chiefly concerned with free election, but when the monks forged a papal bull and inserted an interpolation from it in a diploma of Duke Richard II they insisted, among other things, on the right of recourse to the bishop of their choice for the blessing of their abbot.[2] But we must wait until considerably later for any friction between the monks of Saint-Évroul and their diocesan.

Trouble began in 1089 and lasted for ten years. Gilbert Maminot, Hugh's successor in the see of Lisieux, refused to bless the abbot-elect, Serlo of Orgères, unless he first gave a written profession of obedience. The monks insisted that such a demand was unprecedented; consequently Serlo, who was translated to the see of Séez two years later, was never blessed as abbot; his successor, Roger of Le Sap, took up the cause of the monks, and for seven years after being granted the temporalities by Duke Robert he governed the abbey without ever carrying his pastoral staff. In the end the monks referred the dispute to William Rufus, who was ruling Normandy during his brother's absence on crusade, and Rufus forced the bishop to bless the abbot without insisting on a written profession.[3] The monks had good grounds for claiming that Bishop Gilbert's demands were unprecedented; in England Lanfranc had demanded written professions from bishops in the province of Canterbury, and had also received one from Scolland, abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in 1070;[4] but there is no evidence of any written profession in Normandy before this date. Trouble was later caused when the archbishops of Rouen demanded written professions from the abbots of Saint-Wandrille and Bec-Hellouin.[5] At Saint-Évroul, then, the years between 1089 and 1099 may

[1] Duke William was at Évreux when he was asked to invest Robert of Grandmesnil with the temporalities; the new abbot was then blessed on the spot by the bishop. See below, ii. 74.

[2] See L. Halphen and F. Lot, *Recueil des actes de Lothaire et de Louis V rois de France (954–987)* (Paris, 1908), pp. 55 n. 1, 56–8; J. F. Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption et de juridiction des abbayes normandes* (Archives de la France monastique, xliv, 1937), pp. 75 n. 46, 264–6.

[3] Below, v. 260–4.

[4] See the detailed account in *Canterbury Professions*, ed. M. Richter (Canterbury and York Society, lxvii (1973)), pp. liv–lvii, lxxii.

[5] A. A. Porée, *Histoire de l'abbaye du Bec* (Évreux, 1901), i. 242–6, 300–1.

have produced specific claims, written or oral, based on earlier practice and supported by appeal to the known complaisance of Hugh, former bishop of Lisieux; but however tempting the hypothesis that the interpolations in the charter were made at this time, the evidence of Orderic's narrative is against it.

The election clause in Orderic's version, written between *c.* 1114 and 1123,[1] corresponds exactly with the version given by *B*, and contains no mention of any concession by the bishop. Orderic made no reference to the supplementary election clause inserted shortly before the *signa* in the cartulary copy of *C*. He did, however, record the concession mentioned in the second interpolated clause, whereby the founders and their vassals undertook not to give or sell any of their churches or tithes without first offering the property to Saint-Évroul. But he placed it at the beginning of his account of the process of endowment;[2] and since he added a list of vassals who consented, which is not included in the pancarte, he must have taken the information from a separate document.

Orderic (ii.30)	*Pancarte C*
In primo anno quo Vticensis abbatia fundata est *Willelmus et Rodbertus filii Geroii, et Hugo et Rodbertus nepotes eorum cum filiis et nepotibus et baronibus* suis apud Vticum congregati sunt, et de utilitate rudis cœnobii quod inchoauerant tractantes *communi*ter *statuerunt*, ut quisque sese *cum* omni *parte* substantiæ suæ sancto Ebrulfo *in fine suo concederet*, nec *aliquis* eorum *decimam* uel *æcclesiam* uel aliud quidlibet *ad æcclesiam pertinens alicubi daret*, nec etiam *uend*eret *nisi* primo Vticensibus ad emendum *offerret*. Hoc libenter confirmauerunt Fulcoinus presbyter et Osmundus Basseth, Lupetius et	Postquam Deo donante, cenobium Sancti patris Ebrulfi restauratum est a *Willelmo et Roberto Geroii filiis et nepotibus eorum Hugone* de Grentemaisnil *et Roberto* fratre ejus, *statuerunt communi* consilio annuentibus se*cum* et consencientibus *filiis* eorum *et nepotibus* et omnibus ipsorum *baronibus* ne aliquid eorum *decimam* aut *ecclesiam* siue aliquam aliam rem que *ad ecclesiam pertineat alicubi daret nisi* tantummodo in isto loco nec se ipsum *in suo fine* nisi in isto *concederet* loco *cum* tota *parte* sui census. Quod si *aliquis* de illis uellet *uend*ere *decimam* aut *ecclesiam* siue rem que *ad ecclesiam pertineat* prius in hoc loco quam *alicubi* uendendum

[1] See below, ii. pp. xv, 30–40.

[2] Below, ii. 30.

Orderic (ii.30)	*Pancarte C*
Fulco filii Fredelendis, Odo Rufus et Ricardus filius Gulberti, Rodbertus de Torp, et Geroius de Logis, et alii barones eorum.	*offerret*; si ibi emptio ejus reciperetur nullo modo aliis ualeret uendere; si uero ibi nollent emere, tunc ubi uellet licite posset uendere.

It is therefore a reasonable inference that the election clauses in *C* had not been altered at the date when Orderic was writing; he may have used *C* as his principal source, supplementing it occasionally with details from *B*. The hypothesis that these clauses were late and forged interpolations would make sense of the most puzzling feature of the two versions, namely that whereas *B* is undated and seems to be a first draft, the dated version *C* contains election clauses in a form that is wholly unacceptable. If the original of *C* had survived we might have found that the first interpolated election clause had been written in over an erasure, and that since there was not room for the whole of the original clause as well as the long interpolation, a supplementary clause was inserted at the end of the pancarte, just before the *signa*. The second interpolated clause, not relating to elections, seems to record a genuine grant, copied from another record. It is hard to escape the conclusion that these interpolations were made some time after 1123.

The strongest objection to the hypothesis of late forgery is that, after the troubles of 1089–99 had been settled, there was no known episode in the history of Saint-Évroul that might have induced the monks to wish to strengthen their written privileges. But in fact much happened in Normandy during the decade after 1123 to indicate that the slow progress of ecclesiastical reform was beginning to strengthen the hierarchy against the monasteries and persuade abbeys to look to their privileges. Geoffrey the Breton, archbishop of Rouen, demanded a formal profession of obedience from Boso, abbot-elect of Bec-Hellouin, and, if the author of the *De libertate beccensis monasterii* is to be believed, gave way only at the express command of Henry I.[1] Hugh of Amiens, who succeeded Geoffrey in the see of Rouen in

[1] *De libertate beccensis monasterii*, ed. J. Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, vi (Lucca, 1740), *Appendix*, pp. 601–5; Porée, *Histoire de l'abbaye du Bec*, i. 289 n. 1.

1128, was an enthusiastic reformer; he pressed his demands for a written profession of obedience against Alan, abbot-elect of Saint-Wandrille, and Theobald, Boso's successor at Bec-Hellouin, and in the course of the struggle he did not hesitate to appeal for support to Pope Innocent II. At the council of Rheims in 1131 Innocent pronounced in favour of the bishops' rights to receive formal professions of obedience from abbots in their dioceses, though he was careful not to press the matter too far when Henry I intervened in support of his abbots.[1] Several of Innocent's letters relating to the Saint-Wandrille dispute have survived; there may have been other cases that have left no record. Certainly it was at about this time that the tractate, *De libertate beccensis monasterii*, was written at Bec-Hellouin by a monk who was a resolute supporter of the old ways and looked to the king rather than the pope for help.

The monks of Saint-Évroul at this time had no difficulties with John, bishop of Lisieux, then a very old man, who appears to have been as good a friend to them as to his former master, Henry I. But Orderic's account of the election of Richard of Leicester as abbot of Saint-Évroul in the summer of 1137 shows that they were then preoccupied with their foundation charter.[2] They met, he relates, and discussed together how to prevent any loss of privilege. Then, seated in the chapter-house, bearing in mind the rule of St. Benedict and the charter which William, duke and afterwards king, confirmed in company with the bishops and magnates of Normandy, and considering too the privilege and long-established custom of the church, they elected Richard of Leicester. He adds that the abbot-elect was not present, and that no one in the chapter was related by blood to him. In all Orderic's accounts of abbatial elections, including the four at which he himself may have been present, this is the only one where he explicitly mentions the charter of William the Conqueror, or comes quite so close to citing the provisions of its

[1] The letters of Innocent II to Henry I, Hugh of Amiens, and the abbot-elect of Saint-Wandrille are printed in G. Bessin, *Concilia Rotomagensis provinciæ* (Rouen, 1717), ii. 24–7, and Mansi, xxi. 424–6; cf. also C. J. Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles*, ed. H. Leclercq (Paris, 1907 ff.), v. 698 (where Hugh, archbishop of Rouen, is confused with Hildebert, archbishop of Tours). Alan had been elected abbot of Saint-Wandrille *c.* 1126, when Geoffrey the Breton was archbishop, but had persistently refused to make a written profession of obedience.

[2] Below, vi. 488.

clauses. This is not conclusive, but it is strong evidence that the charter was in the minds of the monks at that time. On balance, this is a likely time for them to have interpolated forged clauses to strengthen their claims against the kind of demands that other abbeys were resisting. Some, like Saint-Ouen, conscious perhaps of the rising tide of reform and the growing power of the papacy, thought fit to buttress their immunities in a different way, by employing a forger of papal bulls.[1] But the monks of Saint-Évroul, like those of Bec, were more traditional in outlook, and they may well have preferred to tamper with a ducal charter on an issue of spiritual jurisdiction. Such tampering, even after Innocent II had begun to make a cautious response to appeals for his intervention, is by no means inconceivable in view of the very gradual nature of the process that transferred the ultimate power of coercing bishops in matters ecclesiastical from the lay ruler to the pope.[2]

This lengthy digression has been necessary because Orderic's narrative, the earliest surviving account of the endowment of his abbey, alone makes possible the reconstruction of the lost original pancartes and the later interpolations in *C*. His text does not, however, help us to solve the problems of the later royal charters, which were of less interest to him.

The period for which he used charters freely was from 1050 to 1113, and his account of the endowment also contains references to gifts to Maule, Auffay, and Saint-Évroul itself up to the middle 1120s. He made no reference to any later confirmation by Henry I in 1128, although the archives of the abbey contained two alleged charters that may belong to that year. The shorter version, which is in the thirteenth-century cartulary, refers to a number of grants specifically mentioned by Orderic; and, apart from the name of one witness which may be a copyist's error, is acceptable as a genuine charter.[3] The longer version, published in *Gallia Christiana* from an alleged original now lost, is much more suspicious in detail, though the main properties listed were in fact

[1] See J. F. Lemarignier, *Étude sur les privilèges d'exemption et de juridiction des abbayes normandes*, pp. 213–15; Wilhelm Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 207–20.

[2] The development in England, which was similar to that in Normandy, has been outlined by David Knowles, 'The growth of exemption', *Downside Review*, I (1932), 201–31, 396–436.

[3] Printed, Le Prévost, v. 202–4; cf. *Regesta*, ii. no. 1553.

held by the abbey.[1] If either received the royal sanction, this was probably given at the time of the 1128 council of Rouen. Orderic, who recorded some of the canons of this council and mentioned the presence of his own abbot,[2] said nothing of any particular confirmation of privileges; but too much weight should not be attached to this negative evidence. His treatment of the years 1128–30, compressed at the end of Book XII, was very brief indeed, and his account of the endowment of the abbey had virtually come to an end before this date. He was more concerned to rescue early benefactions from oblivion than to give details of later, more restricted, gifts, which were known at first hand even to the youngest of his fellow monks.

Apart from charters, the most important of his record sources, he made use of other documents that accumulated in monastic libraries and archives. Calendars and mortuary rolls provided him with dates for the deaths of abbots and benefactors; he was assiduous in his collection of epitaphs, though these should possibly be classed as literary sources. And, probably following the example of Bede, he made a point of including the text of any official documents that came into his hands. The most important were the canons of various councils, which he often copied verbatim. Some were brought back to Saint-Évroul by members of the community who had attended great church councils; others, relating to the affairs of the duchy or the province of Rouen, may have been circulated by the duke's command after their promulgation. He copied versions of the canons of Rouen (1072), Lillebonne (1080), Clermont (1096), Rouen (1096), Rheims (1119), and Rouen (1128);[3] and gave a summary of some of the canons of Rouen (1118), Lisieux (1106 and 1119), and the 1139 Lateran council,[4] which would have been reported to him by the participants. These official records were copied with great care. Papal bulls, however, rarely or never came his way; and he did not scruple to imagine part of the text of one, the bull of

[1] *GC* xi. Instrumenta, pp. 204–10; the authenticity of the charters is discussed in Haskins, *Norman Institutions*, pp. 11–14.

[2] Below, vi. 388–90.

[3] Below, ii. 286–92; iii. 26–34; v. 10–14, 20–2; vi. 274–6, 388; for other texts, see Raymonde Foreville, 'The synod of the province of Rouen in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Church and Government in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. N. L. Brooke *et al.* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 19–39.

[4] Below, vi. 202, 92–4, 224, 528–30.

Urban II recalling Robert of Molesme from Cîteaux, much as he might have invented the words of a dramatic speech at any point in his history.[1]

(iii) *Historical method*

The impression left by Orderic's use of earlier writers and records is that his training as a historian, far from coming to an end with his formal schooling, had then barely begun. This is apparent in the parts of his work dependent on past historians, which give some indication of his own development; but the books relating to the recent past, where he assembled oral traditions, the evidence of witnesses, and events known from his own experience, or preserved documentary evidence, are still more important in showing how he applied his intellectual training and developed his skill as an independent historian. While constantly apologizing for his simple style and the modest scale of his enterprise, he spread his net to include everything of note from his reading and experience, and rarely confined himself to a bald statement of fact if he could present an episode at length and in dramatic form.

In part his work belongs to the heroic tradition of Norman history, owing much to stories of the deeds of great men and their ancestors.[2] This history of the Norman race was made up of the interwoven threads of individual lives. It was the oral tradition of epic song, which was to be continued later in the written vernacular epics and in the sagas; but for a time it was preserved in Latin historical writing, in Dudo of Saint-Quentin, William of Poitiers and William of Jumièges, William of Apulia, Geoffrey of Malaterra, and Orderic himself, in whom it found its fullest and most complex expression. Themes can be traced from Dudo's fully developed panegyric on Norman prowess to the brief, conventional references in the battle speeches composed by English historians in the mid-twelfth century.[3] The themes

[1] Below, iv. 322–4.

[2] Cf. Evelyn Jamison, 'The Sicilian Norman kingdom in the mind of Anglo-Norman contemporaries', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxiv (1938), 247, 'personalities come first, and inspire the record drawn from an apparently inexhaustible storehouse; and yet it is through the people with whom he had been in contact, either directly or at second-hand, that he perceives the greatness of the Norman achievement and its unity the world over.'

[3] See the analysis of Dudo in August Nitschke, 'Beobachtungen zur normannischen Erziehung in 11 Jahrhundert', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, xliii (1961), 265–98; William of Poitiers, ed. Foreville, pp. 182–4; H. Hunt., pp. 200–2,

became blurred owing to the growth of the Anglo-Norman *regnum*, with its diverse peoples and traditions;[1] but to Orderic, living in Normandy and closely in touch with families that had sent sons to England and Spain, Apulia and Sicily, Constantinople and Jerusalem, while keeping their patrimonies intact in Normandy, it retained its consistency and vitality. After his time this element of lay epic found expression in the vernacular historical poems of Wace, Benoît of Saint-Maure, and Jordan Fantosme,[2] as well as in the *chansons*; while Latin prose history, both north and south of the Alps, was written from a more curial and political standpoint.[3] There are some indications in Orderic's work of the coming change, but in the main he did not think institutionally; we read almost nothing of knight-service, but much of knights.

Orderic pondered and refined the themes he found in his sources, combining them with other traditions. The fabulous stories of Norman adventures in southern Italy, which were inserted, probably by him, in Book VII of the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* of William of Jumièges,[4] found no place in the *Ecclesiastical History*, where marvels were reserved for lives of the saints, or occasional visions. But he freely composed heroic speeches, made on the eve of battle or on the death-bed of a hero to glorify his achievements and those of his race, which belonged as much to history as to epic. The speech he attributed to the dying Robert Guiscard, which briefly recalled Norman victories against Franks, Bretons, and Manceaux, and catalogued Norman conquests in southern Italy, contained explicit references to

262; Geoffrey of Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriæ et Siciliæ comitis*, ed. E. Pontieri (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, V pt. 1, Bologna, 1928). pp. 3–4, 8; Ailred of Rievaulx, *Relatio . . . de Standardo* (*Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett (RS 1884–9) iii), pp. 185–6.

[1] Cf. H. Hunt., p. 3, 'Hæc ergo considerans, hujus regni gesta et nostræ gentis origines jussu tuo, præsul Alexander, qui flos et cacumen regni et gentis esse videris, decurrenda suscepi', where both kingdom and people are envisaged as the substance of the history; and see Southern, *Medieval Humanism*, pp. 137–8. for the changes that enabled the Normans in time to adopt the English past as their own.

[2] See, e.g., references to the conquering Normans in Jordan Fantosme (*Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, iii) ll. 170–1; *Roman de Rou* (Holden), ll. 9113–9132.

[3] Cf. Evelyn Jamison, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxiv (1938), 250–2; O. Capitani, *The Normans in Sicily and Southern Italy* (British Academy, Lincei lectures, Oxford, 1977), p. 29 n. 9.

[4] Marx, pp. 188–9.

other epics, comparing Bohemond to Achilles and Roland.[1] The death-bed speech of William the Conqueror was a far more developed and sustained piece of historical writing; while extolling Norman prowess, it gave greater emphasis to the help of God in victories that might be considered just, and sounded a deeper note of penitence for acts of cruelty committed in war.[2] Simple heroic themes persisted longest in accounts of battles against the infidel, either in the Holy Land or in Spain, where the Christian historian could most readily claim to see the hand of God in victories, and where, perhaps, Orderic was recording a tale as it had come to him from a single participant.[3] Elsewhere he was apt to temper references to the past victories of the Normans with moral comments on their folly in turning their warlike talents against each other in civil war.[4]

Dramatic dialogues, another convention of his, were a device of the more sophisticated historian. A normal part of the twelfth-century historian's stock-in-trade, with a tradition going back to Thucydides, they served to express conflicting viewpoints and analyse motives. Orderic used them, with deliberate artistry, to record the bitter frustrations of the conquered English that led to Waltheof's involvement in rebellion,[5] the uncertain rights of Normans and Greeks in Antioch,[6] the criticisms and justification of Henry I's brutal punishment of men whose rebellion had taken the form of following their feudal lords,[7] the conflicting views on the interpretation of the Rule of St. Benedict that led to the foundation of Cîteaux,[8] and many other complex issues. In the great monastic debate of his day he must have heard the arguments on both sides many times, and the same is probably true of his presentation of conflicting views of right and wrong in the rapid development of feudal law and church reform; certainly, as a boy who had spent his earliest years in England and revisited it once at least when he was a man and a mature historian, he could not fail to know at first hand the grievances of the English as well as the justifications of the Normans.

If we look more closely at Orderic's dialogues, it becomes ap-

[1] See below, iv. 36–8; and cf. Rita Lejeune, *Recherches sur le thème: Les chansons de geste et l'histoire* (Liège, 1948), pp. 200–12, who shows how Sigebert of Gembloux used *chansons*.

[2] Below, iv. 80–100.

[3] See below, vi, pp. xxii–xxiv.

[4] e.g. below iv. 226–8; vi. 456.

[5] Below, ii. 312–4.

[6] Below, vi. 506–8.

[7] Below, vi. 352–4.

[8] Below, iv. 312–20.

parent that he used them for many purposes. He wrote within a convention; his readers must have known how to take his words.[1] After describing the reconciliation of Henry I and Robert Curthose at Alton, when they met between their opposing armies, he chose to be cautious, saying, 'I cannot set down the words that passed between them, for I was not there';[2] yet he did not hesitate to record the words of reproach allegedly heaped on Stephen of Blois, after he had turned back from Antioch, by his wife Adela, between conjugal embraces.[3] Nobody could have imagined that he had heard these curtain lectures; perhaps the phrase 'hæc et multa his similia . . . protulit' which follows should be read as an overt admission that the author had himself provided the words to express sentiments that were no secret. Phrases indicating that the speaker said 'this, or something like it'[4] occur frequently in tales of distant lands or earlier days. In the passages that belong as much to epic or romance as to history the speeches are accompanied by ceremonial language, such as, 'O strenue uir', 'Incliti seniores', 'Candide bacularis'. They tend to be long and flowery; the exchange of dialogue helps the narrative along and encourages the reader to suspend his disbelief, even when only a few grains of historical reality are buried deep in trimmings from the Arabian Nights.

Some speeches are more closely related to real debates, and may at times be straightforward reporting. In describing the council of Rheims, Orderic twice recorded that attempts of the Norman delegates to answer charges levelled against Henry I and Bishop Audoin of Évreux were shouted down; evidence, perhaps, that he himself had been present, and feared that an invented speech might amount to the propagation of falsehood. He allowed Henry an opportunity to refute most of the charges elsewhere, in his account of the meeting of pope and king at

[1] A much later example of the mutual acceptance by a writer and his readers of a convention relating to fictitious speeches can be found in Samuel Johnson's reason for ceasing, after three years, to write up the Parliamentary Debates for the *Gentleman's Magazine*. He had done this from any scraps of information he could obtain, but told Boswell that 'as soon as he found that the speeches were thought genuine he determined that he would write no more of them', saying that 'he would not be accessary to the propagation of falsehood'. (*Boswell's Life of Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill, revised L. F. Powell, 6 vols. Oxford, 1971, i. 150–2.)

[2] Below, v. 318. [3] Below, v. 324.

[4] e.g. 'Hæc et alia huiusmodi', 'consiliis huiusmodi . . . adquieuit', 'his aliisque dictis', 'inter cætera', 'talia promunt'.

Gisors;[1] perhaps, indeed, Henry did make a satisfactory answer on this occasion, though Orderic cannot have heard it. More often direct speech, whether in the form of a dialogue or a single harangue, is a statement of a widely held point of view: the quintessence of a debate, or of many much less articulate discussions. If these speeches are sometimes less subtle than the conversations between Anselm and William Rufus reported by Eadmer, this is partly because Eadmer's long familiarity with Anselm had enabled him to hear the gist of many real interviews as well as much heart-searching by the troubled archbishop, and he was therefore nearer to the centre of politics.[2] Orderic, however, stated with force and clarity popular and often conflicting views of king, barons, or monks; and his speeches, though farther from real conversation than Eadmer's, were more dramatic. Sometimes more appropriate to the times in which he wrote than to those in which he placed them, they nevertheless have an authentic ring. The debates of Waltheof and the earls who involved him in conspiracy bring out both English discontents and the difference between Norman and English laws;[3] the discussion of Samson of Bayeux and William I about filling the bishopric of Le Mans contains criticisms of the turbulent Manceaux, awareness of the undercurrents of reform, and a demonstration of the diplomatic skill of William the Conqueror in preserving his patronage of the see of Le Mans in such difficult circumstances, while at the same time casting an ironic glance at the failings of Samson himself, who had accepted a more desirable bishopric than Le Mans before the time Orderic was writing.[4] The debates of the barons on the problems of holding land in England and Normandy under two rulers were as applicable to 1087 as to 1135.[5] The defence of hereditary right to one's patrimony was a dominant theme throughout the whole period.[6] Disinheritance of a man and his heirs could be justified only by invoking the will of

[1] Below, vi. 256–60, 282–8.

[2] Eadmer, *HN*, pp. 48–50, 83–7 and *passim*. Eadmer attempted to record very few conversations after the death of Anselm, and those all related to Canterbury business or to the election at St. Andrews in which he was personally involved.

[3] Below, ii. 312–4.

[4] Below, ii. 300–2; he became bishop of Worcester in 1096.

[5] Below, iv. 120–2.

[6] See, e.g., the claim of Ascelin, son of Arthur (below, iv. 106), and cf. *Index Verborum*, under 'patrimonium', 'hæreditas'.

God;[1] and Orderic defended Henry I's seizure of Normandy and disinheriting of William Clito through the mouths of many men, whom he shows critical of the misgovernment of Curthose and distressed at the sufferings of Church and people: first William Rufus, in the first phase of his reign; then Serlo, bishop of Séez, at Carentan; Henry I, appealing to the judgement of God before Tinchebray; Robert Curthose himself, acknowledging the evil counsel that had led him astray; Helias, count of Maine; and finally Pope Calixtus II, recognizing the force of Henry's defence at Gisors.[2] When William Clito finally fell in battle, Orderic allowed a lament for his fate from his guardian and companion, Helias of Saint-Saens.[3] By that time the young man was count of Flanders; Normandy was not mentioned, and it was the rebel Flemings who were reproached for the death of their lord. The emphasis in all these debates was on Henry's role as the instrument of justice. From time to time Orderic allowed his own voice to sound a note of compassion for Clito's tragic life; but for this he blamed cruel fortune and Clito's weak character, not Henry. Again, in his account of the trial of Luke of La Barre, Orderic seems to take the same line, putting forward a protest through the mouth of Charles, count of Flanders, and then accepting the justice in feudal law of Henry's harsh sentence. The charges against Luke were various: even though Orderic gave almost equal weight to an accusation of treason and to his offence in composing and singing lewd songs about the king, his language here betrays no trace of irony; kings were not mocked. He allowed his personal feelings to show only in his anguished description of how a brave and witty knight preferred death to blindness.[4]

In many of his accounts of contemporary events, Orderic used speeches sparingly, without loss of dramatic effect. There are none in his stories of the trick by which Lincoln castle was taken, or of the burning of the *bourg* of Saint-Évroul by the retainers of the abbey's own patron, Richer of Laigle, both of which are full of action, vividly depicted.[5] He had enough of the narrator's art to dispense with direct speech altogether, or to

[1] Cf. below, vi. 368, 'Frustra conatur id agere humana intentio quod aliter disposuit diuina ordinatio'.

[2] Below, iv. 178–80; vi. 60–4, 86–8, 90, 94–6, 282–8.

[3] Below, vi. 376. [4] Below, vi. 352–4. [5] Below, vi. 538, 460.

introduce it at the critical point to enhance a moment of drama. His account of the battle of Bourgthéroulde is a splendid piece of terse action narrative, in which two or three speeches present in essence the main battle tactics and the characters of the participants.[1] In describing the loss of the *White Ship* he allowed Thomas, the captain, just one despairing cry before he sank, at the news that Prince William had perished; amidst all the tragedy, the outstanding catastrophe was the death of the heir to the throne.[2]

Speeches were often a means of characterization; the first three Norman kings usually spoke with different voices. Comparison with other chroniclers indicates that some at least of the remarks cited may have been either authentic or proverbial; nevertheless skill was necessary to catch the characteristic patterns of speech in each utterance. William the Conqueror emerges masterful, but shrewd; judicious even in anger, a sound judge of men.[3] Rufus' speeches point to a change in character early in his reign; for the first year or two Orderic made him the dutiful mouthpiece for views on the needs of Normandy;[4] but the lively dialogues during his later campaigns reveal the king we find also in Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis*, at home in war and hunting, fearless, respecting the code of chivalry, but impatient of clerical restraints or homilies, roaring out staccato ejaculations, and apt to be brusque and tactless.[5] Henry I's utterances, and they are many,[6] show him concerned for justice, the welfare of the Church, and his own rights as part of the established order; a man, in short, as masterful as his father, but schooled in exile to guard his tongue and achieve his ends by diplomacy. His anger might turn to irony, as in the scene with Conan in the tower of Rouen;[7] on one occasion

[1] Below, vi. 348–50.

[2] See below, p. 109; and vi. 298; a similar dramatic device highlights the premature call to action that caused the conspiracy against Robert of Candos at Gisors to misfire (below, vi. 344).

[3] Below, ii. 300; iii. 98–100; iv. 40–2.

[4] Below, iv. 130–2, 178–80. This reinforces William of Malmesbury's suggestion that early in the reign, as long as Lanfranc was alive, William Rufus tried to be a model king; but that later the worldly side of his character prevailed (*GR* ii. 367).

[5] Below, v. 228–32, 238–40, 246–8, 254–6, 288; cf. *GR* ii. 373–4; Eadmer, *HN*, pp. 43–4, 49–50, 62, 80–1, for other examples of the brusque, stuttering speech of Rufus.

[6] Below, vi. 64, 80–2, 86–8, 214, 228, 252 and *passim*.

[7] Below, iv. 224–6. William of Malmesbury also noted Henry's use of irony

only was he said to draw his sword and disdain to answer;[1] but his astuteness and royal dignity never left him; no eavesdropper could ever have caught Orderic's lion of justice in an unguarded moment.

Orderic, in common with his contemporaries and earlier historians, included miracles as a part of history. Most are copied from earlier written sources: the *Vitae Sanctorum* and miracle collections that occupied an important place in the monastic library and in the reading of the monks. He lamented the drying up of miracles in more recent centuries, and followed Gregory the Great in attributing it to human sin.[2] To some extent portents—falling stars, an eclipse of the sun or moon, abnormal weather—took the place in his own lifetime of the miracles he always hoped to find. The Worcester chroniclers had a similar preoccupation with natural phenomena; and possibly Orderic's careful noting of the thunderstorm he himself had witnessed at Planches, which was fatal only to female creatures, owed something to his conversations with John of Worcester, who recorded a storm at Morville in 1118 in which likewise only women were killed.[3] Like Bede, he felt it important to name the people who witnessed the miracles and marvels he recorded: Ruald, the monks' tenant, who escaped from captivity at Domfront with the help of St. Évroul;[4] Geoffrey the Breton and his son, who, relying on the merits of St. Évroul, brought bread for the monks, dry and wholesome, through the floods and snowdrifts at Christmas time;[5] Walchelin, the priest of Bonneval, who fell in with Hellequin's hunt;[6] Robert, the chaplain of Robert of Stuteville, who was temporarily paralysed whilst attempting to administer the sacraments to one of the household knights;[7] Walter of Cormeilles, Gilbert Maminot's watchman, who with the bishop witnessed the falling stars just before the launching of the

(*GR* ii. 469). This is the nearest Orderic ever came to condemning Henry, particularly if the reader was meant to recall the execution of Waltheof, who like Conan was not allowed time to finish his prayer. But the episode took place before Henry was anointed king, and even here he was called 'stern avenger of his brother's wrongs' and given the last word on the heinousness of treason.

[1] Below, v. 290. [2] Below, iii. 8.
[3] Below, vi. 436–8; JW, pp. 13–14. If this was so, Orderic's visit to Worcester was later than 1118.
[4] Below, iv. 258–60. [5] Below, iii. 342–4. [6] Below, iv. 236–48.
[7] Below, vi. 72.

first crusade.[1] The authentication of events that might in time pass into the record of miracles was essential to him. He treated military and political facts differently; the reliable witness was important, but did not need to be identified, and in this too he was, consciously or unconsciously, following Bede.[2]

In exceptional circumstances Orderic noted that he had put together information from the recollections of the older monks;[3] normally his oral sources of information for non-miraculous events can only be deduced from the known patrons and friends of Saint-Évroul. Indeed some conjecture is necessary to discover how and in what form information about contemporary events reached monasteries at this time, for medieval chroniclers have left almost no record of the news network available to them. Letter writers are more informative about the couriers who carried their messages: sometimes pilgrims, merchants, or other travellers, they were often trustworthy servants, charged to carry both oral and written messages. Travelling by stages, staying overnight in monasteries, they must have passed on items of news of all kinds along their routes.[4] Orderic often refers to messengers who went to and fro during negotiations; he names one, Samson the Breton, Queen Matilda's messenger, who took refuge in Saint-Évroul in 1077 or 1078 to escape from King William's anger, and lived as a monk there for twenty-six years.[5] To him certainly Orderic owed many details of Robert Curthose's quarrels with his father.

Again, monks carrying mortuary rolls followed a wide circuit, adding written tributes to their dead superiors and items of monastic news in the houses where they stayed, and no doubt gathering news and rumours of the wider world as they went along. An important part of the intercessory duties of monks was the mutual celebration of obits for all whose houses were joined in unions of prayer with their own. The *liber memorialis* of Saint-Évroul contained by 1130 the names of about eighty houses of monks and nuns; these included almost all the great abbeys of Normandy, a dozen English houses, and a sprinkling of others

[1] Below, v. 8–10.
[2] See Benedicta Ward, 'Miracles and History', *Famulus Christi*, ed. Gerald Bonner (London, 1976), p. 72.
[3] Below, iii. 306.
[4] See Constable, *Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ii. 23–9.
[5] Below, iii. 104.

in Maine, Anjou, Touraine, the Île de France and beyond, as far as Cluny and Chézal-Benoît.[1] If the whole society was promptly informed of the death of any religious, there must have been a constant coming and going of monks and their messengers. Dependent priories too might be caught in the net; the roll of Vitalis, founder of Savigny, contains tributes and news from the priories of Auffay and Noyon-sur-Andelle as well as Saint-Évroul.[2] Orderic refers to one mortuary roll in describing the tributes to William of Rots, abbot of Fécamp;[3] and he must have owed to similar rolls the miscellaneous information on obits and elections which he added assiduously, year by year, to his history.

These messengers guaranteed the steady circulation of ecclesiastical news, and perhaps of certain great events as well. Saint-Évroul was on a main route from Anjou into Normandy, well-placed for news from Spain, Anjou, Maine, and the Breton frontier, as well as from England. Besides this, it had priories scattered along the eastern frontiers of Normandy, near to Rouen, and in the Île de France; and some of its monks came from great families: Warenne and Tilleul, Grandmesnil and Laigle. Its patrons and benefactors included William, count of Évreux, Robert, earl of Leicester, and many families with which the houses of Giroie and Grandmesnil were allied by marriage: Laigle (in turn allied to the counts of Perche), Sablé, Courcy, Montpinçon, Sai, Moulins-la-Marche, and Pont-Échanfray. If

[1] Before 1130 the list included Jumièges, Le Bec-Hellouin, Bernay, Séez, La Trinité-du-Mont (Rouen), Cormeilles, Troarn, Saint-Pierre and Saint-Léger at Préaux, Saint-Ouen, Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive, St. Stephen's (Caen), Fécamp, Saint-Taurin (Évreux), Lire, Cérisy-la-Forêt, Le Tréport, Ivry, Conches, Mont Saint-Michel, Fontenay, Lisieux, Saint-Amand, Almenèches, Saint-Sauveur (Évreux), Saint-Wandrille, Savigny, Pontoise, Saint-Sever; St. Augustine's (Canterbury), Glastonbury, Abingdon, St. Swithun's and Newminster (Winchester), Battle, St. Albans, Shrewsbury, St. Benet Hulme, Shaftesbury, Romsey, Gloucester, Evesham, Tewkesbury, Crowland, Wilton, Wherwell; Saint-Germer-de-Fly, Breteuil, Oroër, Étampes, Coulombs, Saint-Père-de-Chartres, Saint-Jean-en-Vallée (Chartres), Bonneval; Saint-Magloire (Paris); Saint-Vincent-du-Mans, La Couture, Lonlay, Evron, Cormery, Beaulieu, Saint-Serge and Saint-Aubin (Angers), Saint Mesmin-de-Micy, Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, La Charité, Chézal-Benoît; and later Saint-Georges-de-Boscherville, Rebais, Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, Melun, Thorney, Wenlock, and Reading were added; besides these, the list included Venosa in Italy. See Laporte, pp. 141–88.

[2] L. Delisle, *Rouleaux des morts* (Société de l'histoire de France, Paris, 1866), pp. 296–7, 325. A tribute from Saint-Évroul is included in the roll of Matilda, abbess of Holy Trinity, Caen (d. 1113), a house not included in the legible portions of Saint-Évroul's list (ibid., p. 215).

[3] Below, vi. 140.

those of whom we hear most in the annals of the abbey were the men of moderate means, marcher lords and local castellans, who were vassals of the lords of Breteuil or Montgomery, they were often involved in crusades and campaigns both abroad and in Normandy. They visited the abbey to make and receive gifts, to rest and nurse their wounds, and in the end to die; the tales they brought with them found, in Orderic, an eager listener and a faithful chronicler. Particularly well informed on the Hiémois, Perche, Maine, the county of Évreux, the Vexin and Ponthieu, Chartres, the English fenland, and the west midlands, he collected items of news from nearly every part of the Norman empire and much of western Europe, not excluding royal and papal courts. He continued to record events of major importance alongside the more local news up to the time he ceased writing.[1]

Although Eadmer seriously considered giving up historical writing after his travels with Anselm came to an end, because he feared he would have nothing but trivialities to report,[2] a monk historian was not ill placed for recording affairs of state. In this period, before the keeping of permanent central registers became normal practice, prudent rulers saw in the monasteries the surest means of preservation for their laws and judgements. Canons of councils might be sent back with abbots who had attended these assemblies; the presiding officers in courts that heard cases or promulgated judgements were often ecclesiastics and sometimes monks. The canons preserved by Orderic were more particularly those concerned with church matters: tithes, parish churches, religious observance, and clerical morals. But they included others of wider implications, such as those defining ducal customs, or helping to enforce the Truce of God; and they did not find their way to the monasteries by accident. The dukes of Normandy, from William the Conqueror onwards, had an interest in their preservation; they also inherited the much older, traditional, Norman wish to see their deeds permanently recorded in history, even when they no longer commissioned it.

After the conquest of England, officially inspired biography of the Norman kings seems to have ended with the *Gesta Guillelmi* of William of Poitiers, and even he, according to

[1] Below, vi. pp. xviii–xix.

[2] Cf. R. W. Southern, *St. Anselm and his Biographer* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 301–4.

Orderic, failed to complete his work.[1] But Orderic and William of Malmesbury, among other monk historians, recount at length battles, treaties, and negotiations in which rulers were involved. Their information may have been the harvest of patient gleaning, helped out by imagination; yet at times it seems to contain an element of deliberate propaganda. Henry I certainly learned to make his intentions plain by word and deed. In reading Orderic's repeated assertions of the justice of Henry's cause when he took Normandy from his incompetent brother Robert and disinherited Robert's son, one seems at times to catch the tones of Henry's own voice. The king took careful steps to make public his championship of right, both by a visual ceremony—his dramatic and symbolic act of having his hair shorn by the bishop of Séez before his Easter communion at Carentan, when he launched his Norman campaign in 1105[2]—and by writing to Anselm immediately after the victory at Tinchebray to declare that God had vindicated his cause in battle. But we may well ask ourselves if he took further steps to put out this statement, which finds its way into several chronicles, or relied on Anselm. Eadmer copied the letter, and so did William of Malmesbury, who probably took his copy from Eadmer.[3] Orderic's information may have come from the same source; his language is very similar.[4] Whether the king trusted to his court circle and leading bishops to spread news for him, or deliberately circulated his own interpretations of events by indirect means, there can be no doubt that he excelled in public relations.

William Rufus, on the other hand, seems to have been careless in such matters. He was inclined to blurt out anything that came into his head;[5] and, since he was more at home with knights in camp and hall and hunting lodge than with clergy anywhere, this was more often disastrous than creditable to his image. He cut a

[1] Below, ii. 184; William of Malmesbury had patrons in the royal family.
[2] Below, vi. 66.
[3] Eadmer, *HN*, p. 184; *GP*, pp. 113, 116–17.
[4] Below, vi. 88.
[5] Among the remarks attributed to him are: 'Quis est qui cuncta quæ promittit implere possit?' (in reply to Lanfranc's remonstrances, Eadmer, *HN*, p. 25); 'Orate quod vultis, ego fatiam quod placebit, quia nullius umquam oratio voluntatem meam labefactabit' (to the bishops, begging him to fill the see of Canterbury, *GP*, pp. 79–80); 'Ensibus et lanceis innumerisque missilibus tecum placitabo' (to the offer of Helias to prove his right to the county of Maine, below, v. 230).

good figure where chivalry and courage were required;[1] and Orderic gave him credit on one occasion for observing the Truce of God in spite of the military disadvantage to himself.[2] Whether through his own lack of finesse or through his younger brother's skill, he appears in contemporary monastic history predominantly as a foil to Henry's success in the arts of government.

This general picture is given by historians writing on both sides of the Channel. When Orderic's work is compared with that of William of Malmesbury, the reader is struck by the number of episodes and topics that are treated by both writers in a similar way, but always with individual variations. The lack of discipline in the Anglo-Saxon Church; the early history of Crowland; the riots at Glastonbury; the rise of Ranulf Flambard; the fearless dash of William Rufus to relieve his garrison at Le Mans; the circumstances of Rufus's death and burial; the new monastic orders; King Henry's negotiation with his brother Robert; the meeting of king and pope at Gisors in 1119; the wreck of the *White Ship*; the escape of King Baldwin of Jerusalem from Ramla;[3] all these and other common topics invite one to seek the historians' sources of information. It is almost impossible to believe that they were totally unaware of each other's existence, yet neither writer ever clearly mentions the other.[4] Both were invited to Crowland to write its early history;[5] both were known at Worcester, for Orderic visited the priory and found John of Worcester at work on his chronicle, and William translated Coleman's *Life of Wulfstan* into Latin at the request of the monks.[6] Although Malmesbury had no union of prayers with Saint-Évroul, it was not far from Glastonbury, Evesham,

[1] See *GR* ii. 373; below, v. 244; Geffrei Gaimar, *L'estoire des Engleis*, ed. A. Bell (Oxford, 1960), pp. 184–5.

[2] Below, v. 258.

[3] Cf. the following passages: below, ii. 246 and *GR* ii. 304–5; below, ii. 338–50 and *GP*, p. 322; below, ii. 270 and *GP*, p. 197; below, iv. 170–2 and *GR* ii. 368–9; below, v. 256 and *GR* ii. 373; below, v. 288–94 and *GR* ii. 377–8; below, iv. 312–34 and *GR* ii. 380–5; below, v. 318–20 and *GR* ii. 470–2; below, vi. 282–90 and *GR* ii. 482; below, vi. 296–300 and *GR* ii. 496–8; below, v. 344–6 and *GR* ii. 448–50.

[4] But see below, ii. 270 n. 1, for a possible late reference to Orderic by William of Malmesbury.

[5] See below, ii, pp. xxv–xxix; probably Orderic's visit was earlier than William's.

[6] See below, ii. 188; *The 'Vita Wulfstani' of William of Malmesbury*, ed. R. R. Darlington (Camden Soc., 3rd ser. xl (1928)), 1.

Tewkesbury, and Gloucester, all of which belonged to that extensive circle. Perhaps the answer is that neither writer would have sought out a contemporary's work when it dealt with events of which he had more direct information. Orderic's interest in the chronicles of John of Worcester and Sigebert of Gembloux was almost exclusively in the early sections;[1] he used Baudry of Bourgueil's *Historia Ierosolimitana* and David the Scot's account of Henry V's journey to Rome (which William of Malmesbury also used) for events in distant lands.[2] The parallels between his work and Malmesbury's suggest that certain items, regarded as newsworthy, were rapidly disseminated and freely discussed. Some may have been deliberately promulgated; though such events as the wreck of the *White Ship* needed no artificial promulgation, and the monastic debate was at the heart of monastic life. Whatever the source, we might expect Orderic to prefer the direct witness of a man such as his respected diocesan, John, bishop of Lisieux, who was constantly at King Henry's court, or Ralph d'Escures, archbishop of Canterbury and friend of Orderic's old master, John of Rheims, to the account of a fellow-historian who depended on similar sources, even supposing he had ever read it. And of that there is no proof. News was often coloured by the imagination of the witness or the interpretation of the historian;[3] but the common core of fact suggests that similarities arose often from the truth of the events recorded, and occasionally from the common training and viewpoint of the writers. Both were monks of mixed English and Norman or French parentage,[4] and both thought of themselves, in one way or another, as successors of Bede.

Orderic was never as rigorously selective as William of Malmesbury, who tailored his evidence to the scale on which he was writing. Malmesbury referred his readers to Eadmer for the series of letters between Anselm, Rufus, and Urban II, saying that Eadmer, who was concerned only with the life of Anselm, had space for such things, whereas he himself was writing history on a much larger scale.[5] Orderic, whose *Ecclesiastical History* was even vaster in scope, never hesitated to copy a document if he

[1] See below, ii. 186–8.
[2] Below, v. 188–90, 198 and n. 3.
[3] This question is discussed below, vi, pp. xix, xxii–xxiii.
[4] See *GR* i. 2, ii. 283.
[5] *GP*, p. 113.

had one, or tell in full a story he enjoyed, cherishing every detail. Narrative vividness is a quality to be found all through his history; the reliability of his tales depends partly on the character of his informants, and partly on his own selection and interpretation.

At times he was credulous; like most medieval historians he valued the evidence of the eye-witness, and readily accepted the reports of men who had taken part in the toils and dangers of such distant enterprises as the crusades. In places we can catch the witness in the act of twisting his narrative. One such place is the account of how Bohemond's kinsman, Tancred, took a group of Armenian, Greek, and Syrian Christians under his protection during the sack of Jerusalem, which came from Ilger Bigod, Tancred's *magister militum*. Ilger told his story, with many graphic details, to Arnold, a monk of Saint-Évroul, whom he met at Chartres on the occasion of Bohemond's wedding in 1106, and accompanied it with a gift of relics, claimed to be hairs from the head of the Virgin Mary, which the Christians of Jerusalem had offered him to secure his protection. In the same year Ilger made a similar gift to St. Anselm, but he said to Anselm that the hairs had been given to him by the patriarch of Antioch.[1] It is hardly likely that both these stories, repeated in some detail by Orderic and Eadmer, were exactly true, though we can only speculate on the motives that led Ilger to vary them. To some extent Orderic was justified in recording the evidence of this 'eye-witness', for the part of the narrative relating to the sack of Jerusalem, corroborated by independent accounts, is unquestionably true. Whether his informants were accurate or fanciful, we owe to his credulity and love of marvels and miracles the preservation of much that was authentic; indeed the most supernatural episode in the whole *Ecclesiastical History* is also unique in the simplicity and directness of what it has to tell of extortionate officials, petty usury, and the underlying structure and problems of village life. It is the story of the priest of Bonneval who, on his way back from taking the sacraments to a sick parishioner late one January night, fell in, as he believed, with 'Hellequin's hunt'.[2]

Whatever explanation may be offered of his vision of the dead and the punishments they suffered for their sins, however much the 'evidence' may have been interpreted and reinterpreted by

[1] Below, v. 168–70; Eadmer, *HN*, pp. 179–81.
[2] Below, iv, pp. xxxviii–xl, 236–50.

current theology and pastoral experience, there can be no doubt about the simple truth he records of the lives of the men he knew. Neither the seal of the confessional, nor fear of retaliation from powerful enemies, nor affection for his own kinsmen, held him back from imparting to Orderic what he believed to be a warning from another world. Landry, the vicomte and advocate of Orbec, who had risen from low origins by taking bribes and perverting justice; William, son of Barnon of Glos, steward of the mighty William of Breteuil, who had lent money to a poor miller on usurious conditions; the priest's own elder brother, a knight who, when they were orphaned, had looked after him and supported him through his education in the schools of France, but had succumbed too often to the lust for battle; all are described in unforgettable terms. Here the authentic individual characters that give the story its special value to modern readers are preserved with all their imperfections, in the rich setting of the marvellous—which alone to Orderic made it worth the telling—like flies in amber.

Orderic could be selective when he judged it necessary to omit trivial or repetitious detail; occasionally, too, he was less than candid, when his loyalty restrained him from dwelling on discreditable facts.[1] He was certainly partisan, for Giroie and Grandmesnil against Bellême, for Henry I against Robert Curthose; but he did not tell deliberate lies. Looking back on past events, he was prepared to express moral judgements of the kind present-day historians prefer to avoid; but where great issues were unresolved, or there was no clear-cut case of right and wrong, he became a cautious and balanced reporter. Two such topics are the troubles at Cluny that led to the deposition of Abbot Pontius, and the papal schism of 1130.

He had first-hand information about Cluny and its abbots; indeed, if he was present at the Council of Rheims in 1119 he himself had seen Pontius defending his abbey's attitude to tithes with dignity and eloquence. Pontius was then at the height of his power and prestige; when Orderic visited Cluny thirteen years later, Pontius had been replaced by Peter the Venerable and had died in the pope's prison at Rome. The circumstances of his

[1] See, e.g., below, vi. 206 (where Orderic hints, perhaps ironically, that Henry I, whom he calls explicitly 'iusticiæ amator', might favour his nephew Stephen); 194 and n. 2 (where he avoids commenting on Robert Giroie's rebellion).

deposition are now far from clear; Orderic must have heard something of them from the Cluniac monks in 1132, and he has left his version of the circumstances leading up to the crisis. His account and that of Peter the Venerable complement each other to some extent; where they differ there are some grounds for preferring Orderic's. Peter's *De miraculis* was written over ten years later, and was particularly concerned to hush up any scandal.[1]

Orderic leaves no doubt of the high standing of Pontius, of the respect with which he was regarded both in the neighbourhood of Cluny and in the Holy Land during his pilgrimage, and of the fact that a party inside the monastery continued to support him and wish to have him back in office. His narrative also reveals the background to the troubles. The immunities of Cluniac houses were resented by the bishops and local clergy, and the abbey itself was passing through a financial crisis. The first fact emerges in the attack on Cluny at Rheims, when Cluniac privileges were upheld by Calixtus II. We know that hostility to some priories caused a withdrawal of monks to Cluny, and put a strain on the resources of the abbey. Partly as a result of this, Cluny suffered from protracted financial difficulties; Pontius may well have been held responsible for them, perhaps rightly so. Later Peter the Venerable was able to set affairs in order with the aid of an experienced financier, Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester; Orderic reported on the earlier period of stress and difficulty. Whether or not Pontius had administrative ability, he seems to have been proud and rigid, or at all events incapable of adapting himself to changing conditions. To this must be added the mounting strain of the monastic reform movement, which later found a champion in Peter.

Orderic also gives a well informed account of the violent riots in 1125 that attempted to restore Pontius. As far as the motives of individuals go, he was as anxious as Peter to hush up scandal; he cannot be accepted without question when he says that Pontius was caught up against his will in the movement to restore him. Naturally he knew that after Peter the Venerable went to Rome the pope gave him full support; his statement that the

[1] See below, vi. 310–14, and the references there cited. At the time Orderic wrote, miracles were being reported at the tomb of Pontius (below, vi. 170) and support for him was still active.

pope sent Peter to Cluny with papal letters commanding the monks to obey him absolutely, in accordance with the Rule of St. Benedict, agrees perfectly with other evidence. He may have seen the letter of Honorius II ordering the monks to obey Peter as their abbot. As regards the death of Pontius, it is an open question whether Orderic's statement that he succumbed to despair, or Peter's that he fell a victim to malaria, is to be believed. There may be some truth in both stories; the blow to Pontius' pride and the misery and humiliation resulting from his imprisonment may have rendered him incapable of resisting the fevers of Rome, so that he succumbed to the malaria from which Peter himself recovered.

The troubles at Cluny were caused as much by changes in the conditions of monastic life and of society as by the characters of the men involved. There was no clear-cut issue of right and wrong; and Orderic did not attempt to present one. To some extent the same might be said of the papal schism of 1130,[1] when the legal rights of the claimants were far from clear, and where at least one factor producing the divided choice was a different view of church reform. Orderic wrote in several places of Innocent II's councils and reforming decretals. After Innocent left France and set up his court at Pisa he issued a number of canons; this activity Orderic immediately associated with general movements for reform in other parts of the Church. He described how a great many new houses of regular canons were founded; and how, in the monastic order reforms were introduced, some of which were unreasonably strict and broke with older, sound traditions.[2] On the cause of the schism, however, about which historians are still at variance over 800 years later, Orderic never attempted to offer any explanation; at first he was cautiously neutral, and merely stated that Gregory was elected pope as Innocent by some persons, and three days later Peter Leonis was enthroned as Anacletus by others. Innocent, whose cause was taken up by the Cluniacs and St. Bernard, was accepted by the kings of France and England, the Emperor Lothair, and most of

[1] The problem had not existed in earlier schisms, which had been settled long before Orderic began to write. He never mentioned the anti-pope Wibert and his supporters without condemnation; and was so confident of the validity of Urban II's election that he either forgot or glossed over the fact that William Rufus hesitated for several years before recognizing Urban (below, iv. 166–8).

[2] Below, vi. 424–6.

the west; Anacletus, because his family was powerful in Rome and Roger of Sicily gave support, was recognized by most of Italy.

A point of particular interest is Orderic's non-committal attitude up to 1137. He treated each man as pope in the area where his authority ran. When writing of affairs north of the Alps he referred to Innocent by his papal title; in dealing with Sicilian affairs he called his rival Pope Anacletus. When Lothair offered to mediate between the two candidates, Orderic used their baptismal names, Gregory and Peter. In so doing he may have repeated the information in the form in which it reached him; Innocent was accepted by the barons and monks with whom Orderic was in daily contact in Normandy; the Normans of southern Italy, from whom news came to his abbey, thought of Anacletus as pope. In recording the death of Bishop Gerard of Angoulême in 1136, Orderic wrote, 'qui magni nominis et potestatis in Romano senatu tempore Paschalis papæ et Gelasii, Calixti et Honorii fuit',[1] giving no indication that he had subsequently acted as legate on behalf of Anacletus, and that Innocent II had declared his acts unlawful, and had commanded Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres, to break up all the altars he had consecrated.[2] From 1138, when the schism ended with the death of Anacletus, Orderic's attitude changed retrospectively. The contrast comes out sharply in the various places where he referred to the relations of Anacletus with Roger of Sicily. In 1136/7 he had written of Anacletus, 'Rogerium ducem Apuliæ regem Siciliæ consecrauit, cuius ope pæne totam Italiam sibi associauit', and had said of Roger, 'Filiam Petri Leonis sororem Anacleti pontificis uxorem duxit, et ab eodem coronatus regium stemma nunc gerit.'[3] From 1138 his language changed to, 'Rogerius . . . quem prefatus scismaticus in regem Siciliæ consecrauerat, dataque sorore sua sibi ad perturbandum æcclesiæ ius asciuerat.'[4] His occasional later references to Anacletus invariably called him a schismatic.

On many subjects Orderic's viewpoint was simply that of the Norman church, particularly the monastic part of it, in his day. The Norman dukes had been in the forefront of the moral reforms

[1] Below, vi. 478.

[2] Since Geoffrey was a friend of Saint-Évroul and his name is recorded in the *liber memorialis* (Laporte, p. 179), probably in Orderic's own hand, it is unlikely that Orderic was ignorant of this fact.

[3] Below, vi. 434. [4] Below, vi. 510.

advocated by the papacy in the mid-eleventh century. They provided the only practical guarantee of order; whereas elsewhere the impetus towards the peace movement came from the monasteries, in Normandy the Truce of God was promulgated by Duke William in a council held *c.*1047, shortly after his victory at Val-ès-Dunes and the beginning of his effective rule in Normandy.[1] The synod of the province of Rouen met regularly until the end of the century, and on great occasions in the reign of Henry I, and regularly promulgated decrees for the reform of discipline and morals in the province.[2] The papal attack on clerical marriage received full support; investiture never figured in legislation, and was never a major issue in Normandy. In part this may be because the fundamental distinction between temporalities and spiritualities, which was to be clearly enunciated by Ivo of Chartres in 1097,[3] had in practice been made long before in Normandy.[4] The issues that caused some stir were ducal influence in 'free' election and, later, the demand for homage; but individual monasteries often looked to the duke to preserve their liberties against the encroachments of bishops.

Appeals to Rome in disputes occurred from time to time; Robert of Grandmesnil secured papal letters of restoration after his expulsion by the duke, but because of ducal opposition was unable to have them enforced.[5] Fulk, abbot of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive, went to Rome during his suspension from office;[6] appeals were sent during the disturbances caused by Ranulf Flambard in the see of Lisieux.[7] Almost invariably papal intervention remained a dead letter unless it had the backing of ducal sanction. Legates might appear in the duchy by invitation, as did Ermenfred, bishop of Sion in 1054 and 1069–70,[8] the cardinals Peter and

[1] See M. de Bouärd, 'Sur les origines de la trève de Dieu en Normandie', *Annales de Normandie*, ix (1959), 169–89.

[2] Raymonde Foreville, 'The synod of the province of Rouen in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Church and Government in the Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher Brooke *et al.* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 19–40.

[3] Cf. Ivo's letter to Hugh, archbishop of Lyon, in *Yves de Chartres, Correspondance*, ed. J. Leclercq (Paris, 1949), i. 238–54.

[4] Guillot, *Comte d'Anjou*, i. 183 ff. shows that in Anjou and Touraine as well as in Normandy from the mid-eleventh century a theory restricting lay investiture to the temporalities was in existence. See also J. Yver, 'Autour de l'absence d'avouerie en Normandie', *BSAN*, lvii (1965 for 1963–4), 189–283; and above, p. 11.

[5] Below, ii. 94. [6] Below, v. 212. [7] Below, v. 320–2.

[8] R. Foreville, in *Church and Government in the Middle Ages*, pp. 22–3.

Gregory in 1123,[1] and Matthew, bishop of Albano, in 1128;[2] but Normandy stands out from the rest of France in this period both for the infrequency of legatine missions and the regularity and efficiency of provincial synods. The dukes might justify their insistence that normally cases should be terminated on their own territory in royal court or ecclesiastical synod by the fact that the enforcement of reform depended in the last resort on them. This situation was to change; but not before the closing years of Orderic's life. In so far as he reveals the ferment in the Church, it is in practical events, not in any attempt to express general principles. To the end of his life he remained traditional, both in his respect for the royal authority and in his keen support of moral reform in the Church.

(iv) *The historian's workshop*

(a) *Materials*

Orderic is known to us both as a scribe, copying other men's work, and as an independent historian, handling his sources as he thought best, with a certain degree of freedom. These two functions overlapped; for in the twelfth century, when there was no tradition of textual scholarship, changes crept, sometimes—but not always—inadvertently, into almost every historical text copied. Copyists tended to spell words, not as they were written, but according to current practice. This may have resulted from unconscious reliance on 'auditory memory'; the scribe wrote the word he was articulating to himself, spelling it according to his pronunciation.[3] The Saint-Évroul copy of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, written in Orderic's hand, is an interesting example of what could happen to a text between the eighth and twelfth centuries.[4] The word order was sometimes changed by verbs being moved to the end of sentences; and there are numerous

[1] Below, vi. 338–40.

[2] Below, vi. 388–90; T. Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich vom Vertrag von Meersen (870) bis zum Schisma von 1130* (Historische Studien, cclxiii, 1935), pp. 230–1.

[3] See H. J. Chaytor, 'The medieval reader and textual criticism', in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxvi (1941–2), 49–56.

[4] Rouen MS. 1343. This belongs to a small group of continental copies of the *c*-texts which were widespread in England; they were listed, but not examined, by Sir Roger Mynors (see Bede, *HE*, pp. lx–lxi).

variations in spelling, which reflect twelfth-century usages.[1] A number of slips occur, which are mostly trivial, but as a result of 'ab aetio' being read as 'a boetio' Aetius has been metamorphosed into Boethius in I. xxx. Without knowing the manuscript copied by Orderic we cannot be sure how far he was responsible for these changes. Certainly the alterations in word order are characteristic of those he made when adapting a source, such as the *Historia Ierosolimitana* of Baudry of Bourgueil, to his own rhythmic prose with the minimum of change;[2] and he might have made them almost unconsciously.[3] On the other hand, he could be faithful to a text, as his close copy of the one charter still surviving in the original testifies.[4]

In his own original work he used earlier chronicles after the fashion of his day, regarding them as records to be modified and brought up to date in the light of any additional knowledge available to him. In common with his contemporaries he was prepared to amend statements or interpolate new information as he thought fit, with no attempt to distinguish between the original text and the later accretions; and he paraphrased and abbreviated as need arose. Even in the *Life of Christ* he did not feel himself bound to follow the exact words of the Gospels, and this was not merely because he was compressing four books into one. Sometimes he cited the words of the original; for the most part his purpose was to expound the meaning, and he did not hesitate to vary the words, as he himself explained: 'I have sometimes changed the words, but have always made it my chief endeavour to pursue the irrefutable truth, and have never intentionally departed from the original meaning.'[5] He never hesitated to

[1] Common variations include *optentu* for *obtentu*; *immobiliter* for *inmobiliter*; *rheno* for *hreno*; *crassantis* for *grassantis*; *acerba* for *acerua*; *sumpserint* for *sumserint*; *attulit* for *adtulit*; *correptionis* for *correctionis*; *afficiens* for *adficiens*; *irruptio* for *inruptio*; *contemptor* for *contemtor*; *simulachra* for *simulacra*; *assistere* for *adsistere*; *arena* for *harena*; *pharus* for *farus*.

[2] See below, v, pp. xiv–xv.

[3] Changes of a similar nature were made by Dom Vallin in the sixteenth century when he copied Orderic's work with a view to publishing it; see below, vi, p. xvii; they were perhaps accepted editorial practice.

[4] See below, iii. 152–4; though even in this charter he wrote *arcagium* for *archagium* and *Montleiscent* for *Mouleiscent*.

[5] See below, p. 150. Orderic appears normally to have used the Vulgate translation, and knew Jerome's prefaces; where his citations vary slightly from this version the explanation is probably that he was citing from memory; cf. J. Leclercq, *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu* (Paris, 1957), pp. 73–4.

interpolate fragments of commentary where these contributed to a better understanding of the Gospels; the total effect is of a seamless robe. Since this was his method of handling the canonical Scriptures, we may expect him to be far freer in his adaptation of other sources. His interpolations were indeed extensive, ranging from occasional names or isolated facts slipped into the early chronicles to whole chapters added to the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* of William of Jumièges. Much patient research, and some rewriting, which lay behind the finished chronicle in the first two books of the *Ecclesiastical History*, is only occasionally visible. Traces can be seen in his treatment of forged sources; he was sensitive to the chronological difficulties that they caused, even when the true explanations eluded him.[1] His adaptation of the *Liber Pontificalis*, which depended on conflicting and sometimes apocryphal sources for the history of the early popes, is particularly interesting. In a first copy, made under his direction, he introduced minor modifications and corrected what seemed to him a chronological error by substituting the name of Claudius for Nero as the emperor at the time of St. Peter's arrival in Rome.[2] By the time he wrote his final chronicle of the popes he had a further criticism to make, for he had detected an apparent contradiction in Rufinus's attempt to reconcile the apocryphal *Recognitiones Sancti Clementis* with early papal lists.[3] He had also amassed extracts from the False Decretals, which he inserted under the names of the popes to whom they were attributed.[4] If the final result was a pastiche of miscellaneous records, it was at least well-designed and thoughtfully executed.

Orderic's preliminary notes have scarcely ever survived; sometimes they were made on wax tablets and obliterated after use. He mentions his use of these on one occasion, when Anthony, a monk of Winchester, passed through Saint-Évroul with a copy of the *Life of St. William*, which was hard to come by. Anthony's stay was brief, and the bitter cold made writing with a pen impossible; Orderic therefore hastily jotted down an abbreviation

[1] Cf. below, iii. 46 n. 2, for his perception of a similar difficulty in his chronicle of the archbishops of Rouen.

[2] Rouen MS. 31; see above, p. 59. The *Liber Pontificalis* at this point used conflicting traditions, and the contradictions in the synchronisms that resulted were noted by Duchesne, *LP* i. 119 n. 5.

[3] Below, p. 191.

[4] See above, p. 59, and below, pp. 192–4.

of the *Life* on wax tablets, and copied it at leisure later.[1] Occasionally a more permanent annal was preserved in a blank half-column of another book, like one note of the capture of Jerusalem by the Christians.[2] There seems little doubt that he kept notes of some kind fairly systematically from 1118, when he was actively engaged on the *Ecclesiastical History*; for instance, the events of the 1119 Council of Rheims were recorded in Book XII about sixteen or seventeen years later, with details that seem far too vivid to have been preserved in even the most retentive memory. Sometimes, perhaps, as he grew older, his notes became disarranged: this at least would explain the confusion in tense and sequence of an entry relating to events in Italy during the years 1134 to 1138.[3]

(b) *Style and language*

Orderic's language clearly reveals the methods of study in the school of Saint-Évroul. Basically scriptural and patristic, it had been enriched by some of the formal aids to grammatical study inherited from the Carolingian schools, and by his own extensive reading. He handled the Latin language with an ease and fluency that suggests that he may have made a practice of speaking it. Evidence of the language habitually spoken in eleventh-century cloisters is, unfortunately, slight; Anselm's advice to a young monk to speak Latin whenever possible,[4] and Orderic's own experience on arriving in Normandy, like Joseph in a strange land, unable to understand the language,[5] both point to a fairly widespread use of the vernacular for many purposes. But Orderic was

[1] Below, iii. 218.

[2] Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 10062, f. 123 col. 2; after a note on some liturgical regulations in the abbey, Orderic's hand has recorded the dedication of the abbey church, the death of Pope Urban II, and the capture of Jerusalem by the Christians, in a slightly fuller form than in the *Annals of Saint-Évroul*: 'Præfatæ æcclesiæ dedicatio anno ab incarnatione domini millesimo xc. ix tempore Rogerii abbatis facta est, idus nouembris, die dominico. Gislebertus Luxouiensis episcopus et Gislebertus Ebroicensis atque Serlo Sagiensis prædictæ dedicationi interfuerunt. Eodem anno vi. kal' Augusti Vrbanus papa defunctus est, et Paschalis xvi die post eius obitum ei subrogatus est. Paulo ante id est mense Iulio Ierusalem gentilibus auxiliante Deo subtracta est; et Christianis qui de Normannia et de Gallia uel Anglia siue Calabria pro amore Dei peregre porrexerant reddita est.' It is not certain whether the entry was made before or after Orderic wrote up the *Annals*.

[3] Below, vi. 508–10.

[4] Anselm, *Opera*, iii. 180–1.

[5] Below, vi. 554.

at home in Latin, both as a literary language, and as a medium for describing everyday things. In writing the *Ecclesiastical History* he used a vocabulary comprising slightly more than 8,000 words; of these roughly two-thirds can be found in the Vulgate. A further 9 per cent are in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. The remaining 25 per cent included many words from patristic or early medieval sources; Isidore had certainly contributed something, both through his *De differentiis verborum*, with its lists of synonyms, and through his *Etymologiæ*.[1] Later grammarians and stylists, including Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and English writers such as Aldhelm and Byrhtferth, who were influential in the schools during the previous century, had helped to achieve a permanent enrichment of the vocabulary of scholars. The more extravagant flourishes of the 'hermeneutic style'[2] had passed out of fashion; but the glossaries, *differentiæ*, and general principles of word building had left their mark in a love of variety and a sensitivity to literary meaning. John of Rheims brought to Saint-Évroul what he had learned at Rheims of the study of grammar, though there is very little direct classical influence; and Orderic's language, only occasionally marred by touches of extravagance in its grecisms and neologisms, was flexible, varied, and expressive.

Perhaps because of the strong influence of tenth-century learning in the schools of Rheims and Orleans, and its secondary influence in Normandy, Orderic's vocabulary shows some of the characteristics of the less mannered exponents of the hermeneutic style. He used many grecisms, some of which, such as *alonaxdi*, *alonazontes*, *epitimium*, *omasus*, he may have coined himself, or taken from vocabularies used in his abbey. *Melotina* he found in

[1] The study of the sources of any vocabulary is necessarily limited by the concordances available. Thanks to an excellent *Index verborum*, it can be shown that, of the 25 per cent of words not in the Vulgate or Bede, about 6½ per cent occur in the works of Aldhelm; but Aldhelm, whose works were not, as far as we know, available in Normandy at the time, was certainly not Orderic's immediate source. Many of the words were in common literary use.

[2] For a discussion of the hermeneutic style, see Michael Lapidge, 'The hermeneutic style in tenth-century Anglo-Latin literature', *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975), 67–111. It was characteristic of tenth-century works emanating from some Benedictine schools in northern France, notably Fleury; and from Canterbury, Winchester, and Ramsey in England. Some works known to Orderic show distinct traces of the style; they include the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* of Dudo of St. Quentin, and probably the *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium* and Byrhtferth's *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*.

Felix's *Vita Guthlaci*. Other grecisms not taken from the Vulgate include *agonista, amphisilena, angaria, apartias, apodixis, archimandrita, biothanatus, caraxo, crusma, didasculus, epanalempsis, epibata, monodicon, philacterium, philacteria, poliandrum, porisma, senpecta, sinmatita, sintagma, sirma, soma, sophya, theomachia, theusebia, xenodochium, xerofagus*. He liked unusual adjectives, such as *adulatorius, appendicius, bubalinus, corrosorius, exactorius, excusatorius, purgatorius, singultuosus, sodomesticus, successivus*; and unusual polysyllabic adverbs in *-iter*, like *agiliter, concorditer, dapsiliter, digniter, honorabiliter, immisericorditer, incommutabiliter, inculpabiliter, inedicibiliter, inexplebiliter, irremeabiliter, irremediabiliter, irrefragabiliter, irremissabiliter, irreprehensibiliter, processionaliter, spectabiliter*. He was fond of compound verbs (*floccipendo, magnipendo, paruipendo*) and adjectives (*igniuomus, dulcisonus, cunctipotens, largifluus, magniloquus, macilentus, maliuolus, mellifluus, signipotens, undisonus*), and used words with prefixed elements such as *in-* (*inconsuetus, intractabilis*) or *per-* (*percarus, perdurabilis, perhorresco, perhorridus, perlongus, pernecessarius, perodi, persepe, peruro*) or *trans-* (*transalpinus, transrenanus, transequanus*).

Orderic had the interest in words and their meanings characteristic of a scholar grounded in Isidore's *Etymologiæ* and trained in glossaries; and he extended it from the traditional explanations of names occurring in Scripture or later Latin sources so as to offer his own explanations of vernacular words, whether English, old French, or Norse, which were used in current speech. Robert Curthose's nickname was given as *breuis-ocrea*; Henry I's siege castle of *Mata-putena* as *deuincens meretricem*.[1] Orderic interpreted the nickname of Hugh 'digri', earl of Chester, as meaning *grossus*.[2] He remembered enough English from his boyhood to explain the term 'northmen' applied to the Normans, the dangerous and evil road over Wenlock Edge known as *huvel hegen*, and Thorney, the 'island of thorns'.[3] He alone among historians used the English name, Senlac, for the site of the battle of Hastings, though without considering any explanation of its meaning to be necessary.[4]

[1] Below, ii. 356; vi. 280. [2] Below, v. 224.
[3] Below, v. 24; vi. 28, 150.
[4] There are some English expressions in the miracle story of Bricstan of Chatteris (below, iii. 350): *cheries* to describe his homely face, and a whole English sentence, 'That wat min lauert Godel mihtin that ic sege soth'; but both

Many words were technical terms of one kind or another, in general use. Some relate to coinage (*bizanteus, sterilensis, tartaro*), or to measures (*agripenna, leuga, modium, pertica, hida, uirgata*); others to objects in liturgical use (*antiphonarius, uentinula*); or to weapons (*catapulta, missilis, pharetra, umbo*). Others refer to law and administration (*iurisperitus, camerarius, iusticiarius, implacito, grauaringus, perfectialis, protribunal*), or to feudal society (*baro, bachelarius, heros, saisio, uassus, uauassor, uillanus*), or to monastic life (*celararius, cenobita, claustralis, cuculla, infirmaria, prioratus*). Not all the technical words used by Orderic were of recent coinage; and the fact that they might have a technical meaning does not necessarily imply that they were used with precision, unless they occurred in a charter[1] incorporated in the narrative, or in the canons of a council. Orderic's love of variety led him, in common with most of his contemporaries, to use words flexibly and interchangeably; many of them had been in constant use since their first appearance in classical writings or scripture, and had served to convey various meanings, of which some were obsolete long before the twelfth century, and others were only in the process of definition.

To begin with a relatively simple example, Orderic used seven different terms to describe a horse other than a pack horse (*clitellarius*); they are *equus, caballus, cornipes, dextrarius, mannus, palefridus*, and *sonipes*. But except that *dextrarius* occurs once only, definitely with reference to a war-horse, and *palefridus* only twice, each time of the best horse of a distinguished knight,[2] the terms seem readily interchangeable.[3] All but *mannus* are applied to the stately horse in the hermit's prophecy about the future of Normandy.[4] Horses used by the monks of Saint-Évroul riding about their business, which are unlikely to have been war-

occur in a letter running in the name of Nigel, bishop of Ely, and said to have been composed by Warin, abbot of Saint-Évroul, so they are not directly attributable to Orderic. The few words of Greek spoken by Firuz at the siege of Antioch (below, v. 90) were derived through Baudry of Bourgueil from the *Gesta Francorum*.

[1] *Vavassor* and *Villanus* occur only in charters; cf. below, vi. p. xxv n. 1.

[2] Below, iii. 200; vi. 240.

[3] Even in the early charters, written at Saint-Évroul, various horses given by or to knights were called *caballus, equus*, and *palefridus* (Le Prévost, v. 184, 193, 194).

[4] Below, iii. 104–6.

horses, are called *cornipedes*, *caballi*, and *equi*;[1] the same terms indifferently describe the sombre chargers of the knights in Hellequin's hunt.[2] The small horses of the women seen in the same vision were called *manni*,[3] the word there having its classical meaning of a small saddle-horse; but Orderic was prepared to apply the same term to the war-horse of King Louis captured at Brémule.[4] Clearly his terminology is no guide to the types of horse used for different purposes; his interest was in avoiding monotony, and he varied the words as an English writer of a non-technical work might interchange 'horse', 'steed', 'charger', and 'mount'.

Interpretation becomes even more difficult when the subjects are such things as fortifications, battles, institutions, or social structure. Verbruggen noted, in writing of medieval warfare, the much greater precision of vernacular narrative compared to Latin histories; in two accounts, one French and one Latin, of the battle of Arsuf the exact vernacular term, *conroi*, was rendered in the Latin history as *ordines*, *turmae*, *agmina*, *distinctiones*, and *acies*.[5] Where Orderic was precise in his narrative, it was sometimes because he was using the Latin equivalent of a vernacular term in current use, such as *dextrarius* (destrer), or *dangio* (donjon). *Dangio* occurs only three times, always with the meaning of a citadel, keep, or castle; *castellum*, *castrum*, and *oppidum*, on the other hand, may refer indifferently to castles, fortifications, or walled cities. *Arx* and *turris* are most commonly used of towers, citadels, or part of a complex of fortifications; but one can never be sure, and the words may apply to stone castles standing apart.[6]

Since visible objects might be so variously described, equal or greater diversity must be expected when Orderic had to deal with abstract concepts relating to government and society. On the whole his thought was concrete, as far as that was possible.

[1] Below, iii. 244; vi. 460.

[2] Below, iv. 244. [3] Below, iv. 240. [4] Below, vi. 240.

[5] J. F. Verbruggen, *The art of warfare in western Europe during the Middle Ages* (trans. Sumner Willard and S. C. M. Southern, *Europe in the Middle Ages; Selected studies*, ed. Richard Vaughan, i. 1977), pp. 16–17.

[6] For some discussion of the words used by chroniclers to describe fortifications, see J. F. Verbruggen, 'Note sur le sens des mots *castrum*, *castellum* et quelques autres expressions qui désignent des fortifications', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, xxviii (1950), 147–55; and cf. below, pp. 244–5, for further notes on Orderic's vocabulary.

Abstract ideas tended to be personified: Mother Church, a concept familiar over the centuries; Mother Normandy, vexed by her viper brood. The pope, with his universal jurisdiction, was easily pictured in the language of his letters as the 'father of the fathers of the Church'. Secular rulers were less amenable to formulae. Families and kindred were a network spreading across the boundaries of nascent states. Orderic still most readily used the names derived from peoples, even when they were no longer applicable: *rex Francorum*, though the term Franks had been extended to cover all western peoples on crusade, or *rex Anglorum*, even after almost all the English magnates had been replaced by Normans, Bretons or Flemings, and many of the humbler men were of Danish descent. He was beginning to fumble towards *rex Franciæ* for the ruler of that part of ancient Gaul that was feudal France, though *Francia* came most naturally to him to describe the Capetian royal demesne; or *rex Angliæ* for the ruler of the realm roughly corresponding to the one for which he sometimes used the older expression, the realm of Albion. Although he sometimes treated King Henry's power in Normandy as regal, he had no adequate word to express the ambiguity of the king-duke's position; he never stumbled upon the convenient, if clumsy, expression of the Hyde chronicler: *rex Normanglorum*.[1]

Such concepts as justice or military discipline appear with their classical trappings, or as attributes of an individual 'lion of justice'. The slow emergence of institutions is obscured by language that normally spoke in terms of a royal treasure-house rather than a treasury. Probably Orderic always used *thesaurum* in the concrete sense either of treasure or treasure store; indeed the interlinear gloss almost contemporary with the holograph gives *ærarium* as an equivalent.[2] But it is not entirely clear whether, when he wrote of the pope presiding at Rheims *in consistorio*, he was thinking of a throne or a court; since he mentioned a papal seat in the same sentence there is a presumption in favour of a court.[3] It is even harder to be sure, when legal and social concepts were changing, what Orderic intended by an expression that might be either general or specific. The combination *legalis erus* undoubtedly meant 'liege lord' when used in the

[1] *Liber monasterii de Hyda*, ed. E. Edwards (RS 1886), pp. 313, 315, 319.
[2] Below, v. 280. [3] Below, vi. 254.

treason trials of 1124;[1] but liege lordship might be implied from time to time by *naturalis dominus*, often used more loosely. In cases where lawyers would have had difficulty in determining the exact legal status of a man in relation to two lords, very great precision must not be expected of a historian. If any of the secular lords he knew had ever given him their opinions on the legal rights and wrongs of cases in the king's court, they would have done so in the vernacular.

In writing of philosophical or scholastic matters he had the Latin terms in current use at his finger-tips and could apply them; here the limitation was the extent of his knowledge and understanding of the subject. With scriptural exegesis he was at home; words such as *allegoricus*, *allegorice*, *tipicus*, *tropologice*, came naturally to his pen when need arose. But philosophy and theology were subjects of which he fought shy; in abbreviating the *Recognitiones* of Pseudo-Clement he reduced pages of philosophical discussion to a few trite generalizations.[2] And whereas the term *ratio*, which was loosely in general use among the learned in many different senses occurs in some six or seven of them, the more technical *rationalis* can be found once only, in the description, taken from Calixtus II's sermon at Rheims, of peace as 'omni creaturæ rationali generale bonum'.[3] This uncharacteristic example of the philosophical definition of man as a rational creature is perhaps an indication that Orderic was citing words actually used by Calixtus, which he himself may have heard.

In these various ways training in a learned monastic school and his own habits of thought left their mark on Orderic's writing. It must never be forgotten that he was a conscious stylist. He used the books and documents he read to enrich his vocabulary as well as to inform himself of events elsewhere. Except when copying documents, he preserved or changed words as he judged best for the effect that he was seeking; and he almost invariably modified the structure of sentences where possible to fit his rhythms.[4]

[1] Below, vi. 352.

[2] Above, p. 55. Cf. also below, p. 151, for his evasion of a theological issue mentioned in Bede's *Chronicle*.

[3] Below, vi. 262.

[4] Sometimes the changes were very slight; a verb might be moved to the end of a sentence to preserve the rhyme. Occasionally he incorporated a whole sentence he admired, or a solid chunk of charter material that could not be tailored to the rhythm. See below, ii, pp. xl–xlii; v, pp. xiv–xv.

Whether adapting written sources or writing freely, he composed deliberately, with a literary skill corresponding to his beautiful calligraphy; his repeated comments on the labour of composition, or the relief with which he wearily laid down his pen at the end of successive stages were more than clichés. Language and rhythm were adapted to the mood of the writing; he can never have regarded them as trimmings, for they were integral to his thought, and helped to convey the significance—as he saw it—of the events described.

Orderic used the rhymed, rhythmic prose favoured in monastic schools at that time. The school of Saint-Évroul was open to many influences from Rheims, Orleans, Normandy, and even England; and Orderic was exceptionally widely read. Not surprisingly, traces of the influence of many different authors from Rabanus Maurus to Dudo of Saint-Quentin, from Jerome to the writers of contemporary legends of saints, may be detected in his style, as in his vocabulary; but his work as a whole is highly individual. If, as seems likely, he was given some training in the *cursus*,[1] he was less interested in the preferred forms of sentence and clause endings than in preserving and varying his rhyme schemes. He showed some preference for rhyming verbs ('predicate rhymes');[2] this may explain his tendency to move verbs to the ends of sentences when adapting sources. But he used a wide variety of rhymes, and in the more studied passages often produced complex patterns of rhyme and assonance. Prose of this type, however skilfully written, may sound monotonous to modern ears; but there can be no doubt of its importance in the culture of the twelfth century. It was certainly as acceptable to the listener as the long vernacular epics coming into vogue, and Orderic was well versed in the writing of it.[3] By varying the number and length of rhymed clauses in a sentence, changing the rhythm, modifying the rhyme, and using punctuation to indicate

[1] The various forms of the *cursus* prevalent in western Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries have been critically examined by Tore Janson, *Prose Rhythm in Medieval Latin* (*Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* xx, Lund, 1975). In connection with his comments on the use of the terms dactyl and spondee in the theories of the 'French school' (pp. 83–6), it is worth noting that Orderic occasionally used these terms with reference to verse (cf. below, iii. 18), though not to prose.

[2] See Karl Polheim, *Die lateinische Reimprosa* (Berlin, 1925), especially pp. 333–6, 415–7.

[3] Cf. Wolter, *Ord. Vit.*, pp. 118–22; and below, ii. pp. xix–xx.

where the reader's voice should rise or fall, he was able to enhance the drama of more spectacular or tragic events, and carry a humdrum narrative along without too much tedium.

A few examples will illustrate how eloquent and expressive the style might be. His account of the fates of the sons of Giroie, patrons of his monastery, opens in the language of courtly praise:[1]

Omnes enim isti fratres fuerunt strenui et dapsiles,
in militia callidi et agiles:
hostibus terribiles,
sociisque blandi et affabiles.
Diuersis euentibus creuerunt:
et nichilominus ut se habet humana conditio deciderunt.
Longum est et michi impossibile uarios singulorum actus disserere:
sed de fine tantum uniuscuiusque libet parumper posteris hic insinuare.

His meditation on the fate of man, in the passage describing the priest's vision of Purgatory, has the varied musical rhythms of a psalm and the language of the liturgy:[2]

Humanus plerunque fallitur intuitus:
sed Dei medullitus perspicit oculus.
Homo enim uidet in facie:
Deus autem in corde.
In regno æternæ beatitudinis perpetua claritas omnia irradiat:
ibique perfecta sanctitas omne delectamentum adepta in filiis regni exultat.
Ibi nichil inordinate agitur:
nichil inquinatum illuc intromittitur,
nichil sordidum honestatique contrarium illic reperitur.
Vnde quicquid inconueniens fæx carnalis commisit purgatorio igne decoquitur,
uariisque purgationibus prout æternus censor disponit emundatur.
Et sicut uas excocta rubigine mundum et diligenter undique politum in thesaurum reconditur:
sic anima omnium uitiorum a contagione mundata paradisum introducitur,
ibique omni felicitate pollens sine metu et cura lætatur.

One of the most dramatic events was the shipwreck of the *White Ship*; and for it Orderic drew on a more mannered, poetic

[1] Below, ii. 24. [2] Below, iv. 240.

vocabulary, using such words as *epibatæ*, *albeolus*, *trenus*, *camena*, *bissus*, *somata*, and introducing one brief passage of direct speech to highlight the supreme moment of tragedy:[1]

Tunc luna in signo Tauri nona decima fuit,
et fere nouem horis radiis suis mundum illustrauit,
et nauigantibus mare lucidum reddidit.
Tomas nauclerus post primam summersionem uires resumpsit,
suique memor super undas caput extulit,
et uidens capita eorum qui ligno utcumque inherebant interrogauit,
'Filius regis quid deuenit?'
Cumque naufragi respondissent illum cum omnibus collegis suis deperisse:
'Miserum' inquit 'est amodo meum uiuere'.

These examples show how punctuation was an integral part of style. It indicated to the reader where to pause, where to raise or lower his voice, and what words should be emphasized.[2] Orderic used two main and two subsidiary stops (one of the latter, the question mark, had its modern function). The other three stops were:

1. Medial stops. These were single dots placed a little above the line. When followed by a capital letter they marked the end of a sentence. Otherwise they indicated a pause between two parts of a sentence of equal value, or between a main and a subordinate clause.[3] Occasionally they were used to separate names in a list; normally they marked a point where a rhyme occurred, and where a pause might be made without varying the pitch of the voice. He used capital letters only at the beginning of a new sentence or a line of poetry.

2. A symbol ⁘ (*punctus elevatus*) which also separated two clauses and emphasized the rhyme. It indicated a change in the level of the voice.

3. A third, subordinate symbol, like one used by Eadmer,

[1] Below, vi. 298.

[2] Below, ii, pp. xl–xlii; and for a fuller account of medieval punctuation, see R. W. Southern's introduction to Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, pp. xxv–xxxiv; Peter Clemoes, *Liturgical influence on punctuation in late Old English and early Middle English manuscripts* (University of Cambridge, Department of Anglo-Saxon, Occasional Papers, 1, 1952); and the forthcoming book on medieval punctuation by Malcolm Parkes.

[3] Medial stops occurring in the middle of a sentence are represented in the text by a comma.

occasionally appears in later books.[1] Normally it marked either the beginning or, more usually, the end, of a subordinate clause within a division of the sentence, as in the following examples:

Tancredus de Conuersano Matellæ a Rogerio Siculo fortiter obsessus est˙ et inde fugiens in oppidum quod Mons Petrosus dictum est^ a proteruo persecutore ibi captus est.[2]

Sceptriger inuictus, sapiens dux, inclitus hærosˆ
Qui fouit populos iusto moderamine multos˙
Proh dolor occubuit, dolor hinc oritur generalis.[3]

It may have served to indicate a subtle change in the voice; but it is not always easy to see why Orderic preferred it to one of his more usual stops. Although coming into vogue at the time it never secured an established place in literary tradition; and when about a century later Thomas of Capua described a system of punctuation with three forms of division (which he called *comma*, *colon*, and *periodos*), he had in mind the more usual *punctus elevatus* and the two uses of the medial stop.[4]

Rhythm and punctuation alike were elements in a melodious prose, and a guide to the monk reading aloud either in public or alone. But they also aided the understanding; modern conventions of punctuation may do violence to the sense, and Orderic's meaning can most readily be grasped if his work is read as he wrote it, with the clauses grouped according to his intention.

(c) *Orderic's chronological system*

Orderic's normal chronological system was based on Bede's precepts in *De temporum ratione*, reinforced by the customs of his abbey. For the original parts of his history after 1050 he dated by the year of the Incarnation, beginning, as Bede had done, at Christmas; it is possible that, following the liturgical practice of starting the great feasts the evening before, he began the year in the evening of 24 December.[5] His dating by the indiction is

[1] For convenience it is represented in the text by^. Its actual appearance is more like two tilted and joined inverted commas above a medial stop. See below, iii. 258; vi. 30, 132, 176.

[2] Below, vi. 434.

[3] Below, vi. 450–2.

[4] Quoted by R. W. Southern, Eadmer, *Vita Anselmi*, p. xxxi, n. 1.

[5] Delisle suggested (*Notice*, p. lxii) that he may have begun the year on Christmas Eve, which would correspond to the normal liturgical practice of beginning a great feast the evening before. This depends on whether the storm recorded on

less straightforward. Bede's indiction began on 24 September;[1] and Orderic appears to have aimed at this calculation when recording particular events between 24 September and 24 December, if he knew the exact date. For example, the 'foundation' of Saint-Évroul immediately before the blessing of Thierry on 7 October 1050, is recorded as the fourth indiction;[2] the dedication of Rouen cathedral on 1 October 1063, as the second;[3] William the Conqueror's crossing to England at Michaelmas 1066, as the fifth;[4] the death of Queen Matilda on 2 November 1083, as the seventh;[5] the council of Clermont in November 1095, as the fourth;[6] the council of Rouen in 1128 as the seventh.[7] All these are correctly dated according to the Bedan indiction. But in some places it is equally certain that the indiction corresponds to the year of grace. The dedication of the abbey church of Saint-Évroul is twice said to have taken place on 13 November 1099, the seventh indiction;[8] and a phenomenal glowing in the sky, probably the aurora borealis, is twice recorded on 27 September 1098, the sixth indiction.[9] There are also a number of plain errors, where the indiction and the year of grace do not correspond by any calculation. In one place there is an error of dating that may be a slip of the pen; Orderic recorded the death of Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, which actually occurred on 20 October 1122, as October 1123, the first indiction.[10] The first indiction would be correct for 1122, according to Bede's system, and since Ralph was well known at Saint-Évroul the date 1123 is more likely to have been a slip of Orderic's pen than a failure

Christmas Eve 1118, the eleventh indiction (below, vi. 184) should be dated 24 December 1117 (following the Bedan indiction), or 24 December 1118, making the indiction year correspond with the year of grace beginning on 25 December. A record of great storms on 21 December 1118, in both Normandy (below, vi. 208) and England (*ASC* s.a. 1118) is an argument in favour of 1118; the chronological placing of the passage at the beginning of the year 1118 seems to favour 1117. It is possible that there were violent storms immediately before Christmas in two consecutive years; on the other hand Orderic dated a council held in November 1118, as the eleventh indiction (below, vi. 202), implying a departure from the Bedan indiction at this point.

[1] 'Incipiunt autem indictiones ab viii kal' oct' ibidemque terminantur' (*Bedæ Opera de Temporibus*, ed. C. W. Jones (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), p. 268); cf. the Saint-Évroul manuscript, Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 10062, f. 131, '. . . indictiones viii kalendas octobris . . .'

[2] Below, ii. 16. [3] Below, iii. 92. [4] Below, iii. 215.
[5] Below, iv. 44 [6] Below, v. 10. [7] Below, vi. 388.
[8] Below, iii. 94, 130. [9] Below, v. 192, 216. [10] Below, vi. 318.

of memory. Since the author's own holograph of Books VII and VIII is lost, the three discrepancies in these books may be scribal errors.[1] One or two other errors or inconsistencies may have arisen in copying from charters or notices recording gifts.[2] The use of the indiction year as a method of dating was fast becoming obsolete in chronicles, though it remained in use in the papal and imperial chanceries until the thirteenth century, and sometimes occurred in private charters.[3] Lack of familiarity with an artificial dating cycle may easily have led to inconsistencies in early documents; and Orderic tended to copy the information as he found it. Most frequently, too, he omitted to mention a change in the indiction year when recording a number of events in a single year of grace. So, in spite of his obvious wish to follow Bede as his model, he did not always use the indiction year consistently, and indeed even Bede was not infallible.

When he was copying from earlier sources for the period before 1050, Orderic very rarely attempted to provide any dating of his own. His chronicle in Book I took regnal years from Bede, with a very occasional year of grace after Bede's chronicle ended. Several even of these few dates were inaccurate, perhaps because of the unreliability of his sources. For the papal chronology in Book II he followed the practice of the *Liber pontificalis*, recording the length of each pope's term of office and of the vacancy before the next election; even when he continued the list from dated information in the *Annals of Saint-Évroul* he continued to imitate the early form. He did attempt to work out synchronisms for the history of the archbishops of Rouen in Book V, but only to the extent of indicating events in other parts of the world during the term of office of each prelate. This tendency to cling to the form of dating in the early sources used by him suggests that in the later, independent parts of his history, he probably copied the forms used in any written contemporary documents from which the information was taken.

(v) *Influence of the work during the Middle Ages*

Orderic's historical work came to an end in 1141, when he was in

[1] Below, iv. 232, 268, 336. [2] e.g. below, iii. 146, 154.

[3] See C. R. Cheney, *Handbook of Dates* (London, 1970), pp. 2–3. At this time the indiction year might be begun on 1 or 24 September, or 25 December, and occasionally on 1 January.

his sixty-seventh year; the date of his death is unknown.[1] After him, though annalists were found to keep up the annals of Saint-Évroul until 1503,[2] no monk recorded the detailed history of the abbey, or carried on the much wider history of the Normans and of the Church. The scriptorium was active; surviving manuscripts testify to keen intellectual interests up to the end of the thirteenth century, which Geneviève Nortier described as still a golden age for the library.[3] Orderic may have left pupils; Gervase, a monk of Saint-Évroul who became prior of Saint-Céneri, was sufficiently well read in history to attract the attention of Robert of Torigny at Bec-Hellouin. Shortly after the death of Geoffrey of Anjou in the late autumn of 1151 Robert wrote to Gervase, inviting him to embark on an account of events in Normandy since 1135 and an abridgement of the history of the counts of Anjou and Maine, adding, 'I would willingly undertake all this myself, if I had the leisure and opportunity that you have, and if copies of the chronicles relating to these two provinces were available to me, as they are to you.'[4] But there is no indication that Gervase was persuaded, and no history of Normandy or Anjou survives from his pen.

The immediate influence of Orderic's *Ecclesiastical History* was a restricted one. Too cumbrous to be widely circulated, it appears never to have been cited by name before the sixteenth century. But the greater part of Books VII and VIII was copied at St. Stephen's, Caen, in the third quarter of the twelfth century;[5] and certain self-contained treatises incorporated in the work were circulated separately.[6] The account of the foundation of Crowland Abbey remained in England to be copied and excerpted in later histories of the abbots.[7] The treatise on the new

[1] The obituary of Saint-Évroul mentions the obit of a monk named Ordricus on 13 July (Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 10062, f. 19^{v}). If this refers to Orderic Vitalis, he died on 13 July in a year not earlier than 1142. Although one might expect him to be commemorated as Vitalis, his name in religion, and the obit of a monk named Vitalis occurs on 3 February (ibid., f. 4), the existence of a second monk with the English name of Ordric is most improbable.

[2] Le Prévost, v. 162–73.

[3] Nortier, p. 109.

[4] R. Tor. (Delisle), ii. 338–40.

[5] See below, iv, pp. xiii–xiv.

[6] Certain miracles recorded by Orderic, which occur in other manuscripts, were possibly derived from the *Historia Ecclesiastica*; see the reference to Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 1864, f. 191 (below, iv. 258–60), and the description of University of Leiden MS. lat. 20, ff. 106–106^{v}. in Delisle, *Matériaux*, pp. 32–3.

[7] See below, ii, pp. xxvi–xxvii.

monastic orders was copied in a thirteenth-century manuscript of Saint-Taurin d'Évreux.[1] Two writers, Wace and Robert of Torigny, show some acquaintance with Orderic's work. Wace made use of parts of Books VII and VIII at least for the *Roman de Rou*;[2] but similarities in his and Orderic's accounts of the wreck of the *White Ship* could well be due to oral information originating with the sole survivor, and since there are some contradictions it cannot be assumed that Wace saw Book XII or any other of the later books.[3] The precise debt of Robert of Torigny is not easy to determine;[4] he may have used the *Ecclesiastical History* when adding an eighth book on the reign of Henry I to the work of William of Jumièges, though if there are any direct borrowings they did not extend to word for word quotations, and he was more directly indebted to Henry of Huntingdon. He certainly used Orderic's treatise on the new monastic orders to compose his own treatise on the same subject.[5] There are also echoes of William I's death-bed speech in his Chronicle,[6] and his account of Scottish history is undoubtedly taken either from Orderic or from a source common to them both. Whereas the narrative of William the Conqueror's death as composed by Orderic is a self-contained whole which may have been copied separately, I incline to Howlett's view that the passages on Scottish history were more probably taken from a lost history of Scotland.[7] There can be little doubt that Robert, living as a monk of Bec from 1128 to 1154, a period including the last thirteen years that Orderic was at work on his history, was well aware of Orderic's activities. There was close intellectual contact between Bec-Hellouin and Saint-Évroul; and Robert's eagerness in acquiring books for the library of Mont Saint-Michel after he became abbot of the house testifies to his ability to track down contemporary historical works.[8] He must have known about the *Ecclesiastical*

[1] See below, iv, p. xiv.
[2] See below, iv, p. xxii.
[3] See below, vi. 296–306; *Roman de Rou* (Holden), ll. 10173–262.
[4] See R. Howlett's comments in R. Tor. (RS), pp. xxiv–xxxv; M. Chibnall, 'Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni' in *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, ii (ed. R. Foreville, Paris, 1967), 133–9.
[5] R. Tor. (Delisle), i. 86, ii. 186 ff.; below, iv. 310–26.
[6] R. Tor. (RS) pp. xxxi–xxxiv; below, iv. 94.
[7] Although Howlett accepted Bale's view that this might be a work by David, bishop of Bangor, there is no evidence that such a work ever existed; see Thomas Wright, *Biographia britannica literaria* (London, 1842–6), ii. 108.
[8] See *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, ii, chs. viii, ix.

History; but he seems never to have had a copy by him long enough to make detailed use of most of it. After Robert's day, for some three and a half centuries, interest in the work was apparently confined to the monks of Saint-Évroul who added glosses explaining difficult words and marginal chapter headings.[1]

(vi) *Editions of the* Ecclesiastical History

About the beginning of the sixteenth century the recopying of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* with a view to its publication began. Orderic's work found, among the monks of his own abbey, the hypothetical reader to whom it had been partially directed; one who was learned, devout, and curious to know more about the past. Dom William Vallin copied the greater part of it and offered the work to his abbot, Felix de Brie, some time between 1503 and 1536.[2] He visualized and admired Orderic as a monk who had toiled ceaselessly all his life, devoting himself wholly to both divine and human learning, and gladly gathering the flowers of rhetoric as a bee collects honey from far and near, 'quia bona est negociatio sapientiæ'. His reason for copying the work was that it was read by few, and indeed could hardly be read at all, for the manuscript was so old that the writing was almost worn away by age. Except in a few places the manuscript is still perfectly legible today; and Geneviève Nortier therefore made the reasonable deduction that most of the monks of William Vallin's time could not read twelfth-century script.[3] Neither Vallin's enterprise nor that of La Croix de Maine a little later came to fruition in print,[4] but the work was rescued from obscurity, and several more manuscript copies or abbreviated copies of Books I–VI and IX–XIII were made. The volume containing Books VII–VIII was evidently no longer in the library of Saint-Évroul.

In 1603 a fragment of the work was published by William

[1] See below, pp. 119–20. M. A. Langfors, *Notices et extraits des MSS de la Bibliothèque nationale*, xxxix (1) 503–662, identifies 'maistre Oreris', the source of a pious story about the Virgin Mary cited in a fourteenth-century Dominican collection of *exempla* (Bibl. nat. MS. Fr. 12483, f. 137), as Orderic Vitalis (see also *Romania*, xiv. 467); but even if the identification is correct, which is very doubtful, the story is not taken from the *Ecclesiastical History*.

[2] Delisle, *Notice*, pp. xcix–ci.

[3] Nortier, p. 112.

[4] Delisle, *Notice*, p. civ.

Camden from a Caen manuscript in the Cottonian library which, according to Camden, had been brought from Normandy by Henry V with other spoils of war. Camden had never had an opportunity of seeing Orderic's work, which was still unpublished, for all the other manuscripts were in France. He published the extracts describing the arrest of Odo of Bayeux and the death of William the Conqueror in his *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica a veteribus scripta* (Frankfort, 1603), pp. 29–35, from BL Cotton Vesp. A xix, ff. 104–21^{v}, as an anonymous work, with the suggestion that the author might possibly have been William of Poitiers.

Such an error could not have occurred sixteen years later, when the first complete edition of Orderic's *Ecclesiastical History* was published by André Duchesne in *Historiae Normannorum scriptores antiqui* (Paris, 1619), pp. 321–925. Duchesne used the author's holograph (Bibl. nat. MSS. lat. 5506, 10913), the Vatican manuscript (MS. Vat. reg. 703B), and Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 5122. This was to remain the basic text from which partial re-editions were made until the middle of the nineteenth century. Extracts were published by Giovanni Battista Caruso in *Bibliotheca historica regni Siciliae* (Parma, 1723), pp. 919–21, and by Francis Maseres, *Historiae Anglicanae circa tempus conquestus Angliae a Guillelmo Notho Normannorum duce selecta monumenta* (London, 1807). In the seventeenth century a project for a new edition by Dom Bessin, who began to prepare a text with help from Dom Charles du Jardin, prior of Saint-Évroul, came to nothing.[1] The colleagues of Bouquet working on the *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* still made use of Duchesne's edition (with some references to MS. readings) in the lengthy extracts they published (*RHF* ix. 10–18; x. 234–6; xi. 221–48; xii. 585–770). When the *Ecclesiastical History* was included in J. P. Migne's *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, clxxx, which appeared in 1855, Le Prévost's edition was in progress but not quite complete, and Migne used Duchesne once more, though with the addition of some notes from the early volumes of Le Prévost and from volume xii of Bouquet.

The situation was changed with the great edition of Auguste Le Prévost, assisted by Leopold Delisle, published in five volumes

[1] Bessin's annotated copy of Duchesne was preserved at Rouen, in the Bibliothèque de la Ville (Delisle, *Notice*, p. cv).

by the Société de l'histoire de France, *Orderici Vitalis Ecclesiasticae Historiae libri tredecim* (Paris, 1838–55). The title carries the note 'ex veteris codicis Uticensis collatione emendavit et suas animadversiones adjecit Auguste Le Prévost'; an exact description of what was done. The edition was based on a careful transcription of the author's holograph, as far as it was available, collated with sixteenth-century copies where the readings seemed doubtful; Books VII and VIII were based on a transcript of the Vatican manuscript by La Porte du Theil, which was reasonably good, but less good than the transcripts of the other parts made by the editors themselves. No praise can be too high for the care and learning lavished on the work, which will always remain a monument of the finest scholarship. But in common with every previous transcription, and in accordance with the editorial conventions then prevailing, the text was to some extent 'emended'. The editors did not, like Dom Vallin, change the order of words; but they standardized the spelling according to more classical practices and modernized the punctuation. As a result 'condempnare' was always printed as 'condemnare', 'michi' as 'mihi', 'autenticus' as 'authenticus', and so forth. While these changes certainly made for smoother reading by their contemporaries, they were less than helpful to lexicographers and philologists, to some extent falsified Orderic's style, and occasionally even radically changed his meaning.

This edition was used by the editors of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* for the selections from Orderic included among the *Scriptores* by G. H. Pertz in volume xx (1868), pp. 51–82, and G. Waitz in volume xxvi (1882), pp. 11–28.

The work was translated into French from Duchesne's edition by Louis du Bois, and appeared in four volumes with an introduction by F. P. G. Guizot in the *Collection des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*, vols. xxv–xxviii (Paris, 1825–7). An English translation by Thomas Forester in four volumes was published in Bohn's Antiquarian Library (London, 1853–6); based on the first four volumes of Le Prévost's edition supplemented by Duchesne's, it also included Guizot's introduction to the French translation. Extracts were translated into Danish and published in a three volume collection entitled *Historiske Beretninger om Normanner og Angelsaxere* (Copenhagen, 1889–96).[1]

[1] Translated extracts have appeared in various other collections, such as

(vii) *The present edition*

(a) *Manuscripts of the* Ecclesiastical History[1]

The twelfth-century catalogue of Saint-Évroul contained the entry, 'Quattuor uolumina Vitalis'. There is no doubt that these four volumes, of which three survive, made up the original holograph of the *Ecclesiastical History*. One is now in an imperfect state, and one had been lost before the end of the fifteenth century. The three surviving volumes (*A*) are now in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, MSS. lat. 5506, parts I and II, and 10913. All are written, with the exception of a few pages,[2] in the early twelfth-century hand identified by Delisle as that of Orderic, and are carefully corrected in the same hand. They are small volumes, with slightly irregular pages, measuring respectively 14 × 23·4 cm., 14·5/15 × 23·5 cm., and 15/15·5 × 24 cm. A few pages were carefully patched before being used. The writing occupies approximately 10/10·5 cm. × 17·5 cm.; some of the margins of the first volume have been trimmed in modern binding, so that a few of Orderic's own corrections and the pricking have been cut away. Elsewhere pricking is in the outer margins only. Normally 33 or 34 lines are ruled in hard point on the hair side; in the last gathering of Book X and the first of Book XI the number increases to 35, and on the last four folios of Book XIII to 36. Writing begins above the top line except at the beginnings of sections; on a few pages the ruled lines are ignored and up to 39 or 40 lines of writing are squeezed in. A frame of double lines encloses the writing, extending into the margins. Decoration consists of numerous small coloured capitals, alternating irregularly in red, blue, and green, and a few

English Historical Documents 1042–1189, ed. D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway (London, 1953), pp. 281–9.

[1] Descriptions of most of the manuscripts will also be found in Delisle, *Notice*, pp. xciii–civ, Wolter, *Ord. Vit.*, pp. 8–10, and T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (RS 1862–71), ii. 217.

[2] In MS. lat. 5506 (II) the beginning of Book III up to f. 20 is in a hand similar to Orderic's, which occurs beside his in several other manuscripts, but is probably not his. The preface, added later, is in his hand. A few sentences of this volume on f. 91, and half a page of MS. lat. 10913 (f. xvi^{v}), are in a completely different hand. See above, p. 23 n. 3.

decorated initials at the beginning of books. The outline decoration of the initials to the Prologue and Book I may have been added by Orderic himself; the ink is the same as that of the remainder of the page. He certainly wrote the rubrics at the beginning and end of each book, and may also have added the coloured capitals. A very few capitals, intermittently throughout the work, failed to be filled in. On the whole these volumes are careful, though not fine, copies; books intended for the use of the monks themselves, but less ample and elaborate than some of the lives of the saints and theological works that Orderic helped to copy.[1]

MS. lat. 5506 (I), containing Books I and II, is made up of fifteen gatherings, all having ten folios except the eighth, which has twelve; two extra folios were later bound in at each end. Writing begins on f. 4 (modern foliation f. 6). The gatherings are numbered in a twelfth-century hand in the centre bottom margin of the verso of the last folio. The modern foliation runs from 1 to 156. On the blank folios at the beginning several scribes have tried out their pens, and 'Prima pars Vitalis' is written several times.

MS. lat. 5506 (II), containing Books III to VI, is made up of twenty gatherings, all of ten folios; all but nos. ii, iii, iv, vii, xviii, and xix are numbered in the same way as the first volume. There is a thirteenth-century foliation, i–cxcviii (with f. 76 occurring twice, and the last folio unnumbered) in the bottom right hand corner (recto), and early foliation in red from i–xx in the top left hand corner (verso) of the first twenty folios, and thereafter every fifth folio up to c, where Book IV ends. Modern foliation runs from 1 to 200; the writing ends on f. 199^{v} (198^{v}), and the last page, originally left blank, is damaged. A thirteenth-century hand has written at the top of f. 1, 'Iste liber est de almariolo sancti Ebrulfi. Quarta pars Vitalis.'[2]

MS. lat. 10913, containing books IX to XIII, has suffered mutilation in the course of time. Four folios from another manuscript, containing a copy of the *Historia Francorum senonensis* have been bound in at the beginning, and were formerly, but in my opinion erroneously, believed to be the first chapters of Book VII of the *Ecclesiastical History*.[3] The remainder consists of

[1] For examples, see plates in Delisle, *Matériaux*.
[2] See below, vol. ii, frontispiece.
[3] See below, iv, pp. xvi–xviii.

twenty-three complete gatherings, of which all but the first and seventeenth (each of eleven folios) are of ten folios. The last fifteen folios were bound up in the wrong order after the modern pagination had been added; two folios (between pp. 496 and 497) and the last folios, which contained the epilogue, have been lost. Originally there were probably twenty-five gatherings. There is a large red foliation in the top left hand corner (verso) of ff. i to xx, xxv, and xxx, and foliation in brown ink in the bottom right hand corner, running from xxi to ccxxii, in the same two hands as the foliation of MS. lat. 5506 (II). Modern pagination, pp. 1–502, includes the four extraneous folios bound in before Book IX. Because of damage at the beginning and end of the original volume there are no fly-leaves with indications of the medieval volume numbering. There are several variations in the colour of the ink, particularly in the last book. The last chapters of Book XIII and the concluding folios of Book VI (MS. lat. 5506 (II)) are both written in a blackish ink, with a similar pen, and were probably added about the same time.

All three volumes contain marginalia of various periods. A few in ink of the colour of the text may be contemporaneous; they include a cross (⁜) marking the point in Book IV where the passages taken from William of Poitiers end, and a sketch of a hand drawing attention to particular passages.[1] Groups of three or four dots arranged in diamonds and triangles occur at irregular intervals; in slightly different ink from the text, they were probably added later. A few headings, mostly relating to obits, are added in a large, thirteenth-century hand; others, rare in the first volume, but very frequent in the sections on monastic endowment and customs in Book III, and throughout Books IX to XIII, belong probably to the fourteenth century. A third much earlier hand has added a few subject headings and a number of interlinear glosses explaining the meanings of words, particularly in Book X.

These three volumes remained in the library of Saint-Évroul until the sixteenth century. A note in the first volume records a decision of the chapter made in 1514; and all three volumes were certainly available when Dom Vallin made his transcripts about that time. In 1682 Dom Julien Bellaise could find only one volume, the last, in the library.[2] The library was then in great

[1] See below, pp. 142–3.

[2] Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 13073, f. 50.

disorder, and the other two may have been on loan. By the early nineteenth century they were in the Bibliothèque du Roi; and there they were joined in 1847 by the third, which had been deposited briefly at Laigle after the Revolution, and had passed from there to the Bibliothèque d'Alençon. The fourth volume has never been found.

(*C*) Rome, MS. Vatican Reginensis Latina 703B (formerly 703A). This manuscript, from St. Stephen's, Caen, contains the text of most of Books VII and VIII of the *Ecclesiastical History*. Written in a hand of the mid-twelfth century, it was certainly copied from the lost third volume of the Saint-Évroul manuscript. It consists of seven gatherings, the first six of eight, and the last of four, folios; all are complete, and although parts, particularly of Book VII, appear to have been omitted, the scribe apparently copied all that he wished to preserve. It has been described and published in facsimile in the edition made for Léopold Delisle by his pupils (*Orderici Vitalis historiæ ecclesiasticæ libri VII et VIII e codice vaticano reg. 703 A*, Paris, 1902).[1] It is particularly important as the only copy of Books VII and VIII to survive, apart from the fragments in (*V*) and (*E*).

(*V*) London, BL MS. Cotton Vespasian A xix, ff. 104–21^{v}, a fourteenth-century manuscript, copied from (*C*),[2] also contains fragments of Book VII relating to the arrest and trial of Odo of Bayeux and the death of William the Conqueror:

ff. 104–105^{v}, 'Dum fuerunt in orbe tempestate . . . Noxia temeritas semper comprimenda'; ff. 106–21^{v}, 'multociens olim contra patrem suum litigauerat . . . Verbum autem Domini manet in eternum.' One or more folios are missing between ff. 105 and 106. The passages copied occur in Book VII (below, iv. 38–42, 80–108). The manuscript is beautifully written and lavishly decorated with gold leaf.[3]

(*E*) Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 4861, a thirteenth-century manuscript from Saint-Taurin, Évreux, contains on ff. 125^{v}–28^{v} the treatise on the new monastic orders; slight variations indicate that it was probably not copied directly from MS. (*A*).[4] Copies of the canons

[1] See also below, iv, pp. xiii–xiv.

[2] The extracts are headed, 'Que sequntur de vita et gestis gloriosi Guillermi ducis Normannorum ac uictoriosissimi regis Anglorum extracta fuerunt de quodam libro antiquo monasterii sancti Stephani de Cadomo cuius monasterii fundator quondam extitit'.

[3] See below, iv, p. xiv.

[4] See below, iv, p. xiv.

of the 1072 council of Rouen and 1080 council of Lillebonne (ff. 123–24^{v}) may also have been taken from Orderic, or from manuscripts at Saint-Évroul used by him.

(*B*) Bern, Stadtbibliothek, MS. Bongars 555. A volume of 283 pages, written on paper in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, it contains Books IX to XIII complete, including the Epilogue. This is the most faithful copy of these books. At the end of the manuscript the scribe copied the extracts from the *Historia Francorum senonensis*, now bound into the beginning of Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 10913; this suggests that the two works were already bound together.[1]

(*D*) Between 1503 and 1536 Dom William Vallin, a monk of Saint-Évroul, copied the whole of Books I to VI and IX to XIII, and dedicated the work to his abbot, Felix de Brie.[2] His three volumes, carefully written on parchment in a fine, humanistic hand, are now Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 12715 (formerly fonds Saint-Germain, lat. 462), containing Books I and II, numbered I–III, Book II being divided at the end of the life of St. Martial; Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS. Phillipps 1836 (Rose 140, formerly Meerman 723),[3] containing Books III to VI, numbered IV to VII, and Bibl. nat. MS. Dupuy 875, containing Books IX to XIII, with the Epilogue, numbered VIII to XII. Dom Vallin allowed himself a certain amount of editorial licence in making his copy; he transposed many words, and occasionally altered or omitted others.

(*L*) Paris, Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 5122 (formerly 4207.3; Bigot 180). A copy of the whole of Books I to VI and IX to XIII with the Epilogue, written about 1536 on paper, and containing 620 pages. This for the first time introduced the extract from the *Historia Francorum senonensis* as part of Book VII or VIII.[4] On f. 302^{v} after the end of Book VI is written:

Virgo parens duc omnigenas O ianua cœli
Tolle tua presis tantos pietate labores.[5]
Ad lectorem:

[1] See below, iv, p. xv; vi, p. xvii.
[2] Delisle, *Notice*, pp. xcix–ci, has printed the letter of dedication.
[3] For a full description, see V. Rose, *Die lateinischen Meerman-Handschriften des Sir Thomas Phillipps in der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1892), pp. 316–7, no. 140.
[4] See below, iv, p. xv.
[5] Cf. below, iii. 361 n. 2, where the same verse contains the unintelligible word 'euurigenas' instead of 'omnigenas'.

Arma, duces, monachos, si quæris, presbyterosque
Hæc tibi Vitalis pars ea quarta dabit.
1536, mense martio.

A note on the fly-leaf states that it was lent to Duchesne for his edition.

Three other copies were made in the sixteenth century from (*L*). One is complete; it is now Paris, Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 5123 (formerly 4207A and B; Colbert no. 760). Two are slightly abbreviated; they are now Paris, Bibl. nat. MS. lat. 5124 (two volumes, formerly 4207. 3.3.3; Baluze no. 184), and Rouen, Bibliothèque de la ville, MSS. 1175 and 1176 (formerly 3, 4).

Of the two manuscripts (*C*) and (*V*) from St. Stephen's, Caen, the first was acquired by Queen Christina of Sweden, and passed with her collection of books to the Vatican Library; the second, according to Camden, was brought to England by Henry V as part of the spoils of war.[1]

The migrations of the later manuscripts up to the middle of the nineteenth century have been indicated by Delisle (*Notice*, pp. xcviii–civ). The second volume of Vallin's transcript (*D*) was acquired by the Royal Library (now the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek) in Berlin, with many other Meerman manuscripts, after the break-up of the Phillipps collection.

(b) *Text and translation*

The present edition is based on the original manuscript (*A*) for Books I to VI and IX to XIII, and on the Caen manuscripts (*C*) and (*V*) for Books VII and VIII. The epilogue and missing passages in Book XIII have been printed from (*B*), with variant readings from (*D*) and (*L*). Books I and II are printed in an abbreviated form, and the other books in full. Three chapters previously published at the beginning of Book VII, whose inclusion in the *Ecclesiastical History* seems unjustified, have been rejected.[2]

This is the first edition to be published in England, and the first to carry translation as well as text. It differs from earlier editions in preserving the spelling and punctuation of the original[3] in all parts for which the author's holograph survives. Modern practice has been followed in the use of capitals and inverted

[1] See below, iv, p. xiv.
[2] See below, iv, pp. xvi–xvii, 343–52.
[3] See above, pp. 109–110.

commas; otherwise Orderic's original text has been followed as closely as possible. He wrote a fairly large, clear minuscule, with a limited number of standard abbreviations (suspensions, contractions, including *Nomina Sacra*, superior letters, and special signs), almost all of which can be expanded without difficulty. Occasionally in interpreting the abbreviations I have standardized his spelling; on the few occasions when he wrote *michi* in full he spelled it with a *c*, and this form has been retained in expanding the abbreviations. 'Willelmus' occurs only four or five times, 'Willermus' even less often; normally the word is abbreviated, and it has been consistently expanded as 'Willelmus'. There is a particular difficulty with the diphthongs, *æ* and *œ*; Orderic most frequently abbreviated with a subscript *a* or *o*; occasionally he wrote out the diphthong, particularly at the end of a line, to fill in the space. I have standardized the abbreviation as a diphthong, which seems to have been his intention, in preference to the conventional *ę* that later became common. On the other hand, it is extremely difficult to tell whether he was moving towards a simple *pre* rather than *præ* as a prefix. Sometimes he indicated a diphthong in abbreviating; sometimes, particularly in the later books, he did not. Since this suggests uncertainty, and may point to a variation in pronunciation, I have allowed the inconsistency to remain. I have also kept such inconsistencies of spelling as 'cœlum', 'celum'; 'cœnobium', 'cenobium'; and have endeavoured to distinguish between 'c' and 't' as written. Orderic was consistent throughout the work in spelling 'æcclesia', 'æcclesiasticus', and this has been retained.

The attempt to standardize the spelling of names in translation has defeated me; I began with an attempt to use the forms most familiar through the conventions of Stenton, the *Regesta*, and other standard works, only to find that there were no accepted standard conventions. Even the spelling of French place-names in modern histories and directories has changed in the course of the twenty-five years since the work was begun. Saint-Évroul (Delisle's spelling) then seemed acceptable; it has now been almost entirely superseded by Saint-Evroult. In general the French spelling of French places has been given, except for very large towns such as Orleans and Rheims, which appear in their English forms. Some personal names, more common in French than in English, have been given in the French form, or

one derived from it. Helias is nearer to Hélie than Elias would be, for the name of the count of Maine, besides being familiar through the work of Freeman. Perhaps in some cases strict logic has been sacrificed to familiarity; some choices have been difficult, such as that between L'Aigle, correct for the place, and Laigle, more familiar for the Norman family. The names of English kings and bishops have been given in the forms printed in the *Handbook of British Chronology*.[1]

Any translation is to some extent a word by word commentary, and since the meanings of words change in twentieth-century English no less than they did in twelfth-century Latin the translator is beset by difficulties. I have aimed at keeping fairly close to the Latin whilst avoiding a literal translation; but since the Latin is printed beside the English I have been freer than would otherwise have been possible. Medieval Latin ran to superlatives, and was over-rich in conjunctions in comparison with English, and some restraint is necessary in translating these to avoid misrepresenting the author's meaning. Again, some expressions, if literally translated, would sound archaic. Names of countries and peoples present particular difficulties in any work covering a wide span of time: Charlemagne is correctly described as 'king of the Franks; but the term sounds much less appropriate to Louis VII, and if twelfth-century rulers are to be called 'king of France' the translator must make a change at some point.[2] William the Conqueror was called duke, count, and marquis of the Normans, or occasionally of Neustria or Normandy; since the variations are in the Latin for all to see I have consistently described him by the term most familiar to modern readers, namely 'duke of Normandy'. This convention is open to challenge; but the same would be true of any other convention. Ultimately the hope of the translator is, whilst making the work available to those with little or no Latin, to persuade all those whose latinity is adequate to read Orderic's eloquent and dramatic work in the language in which he wrote it.

As the edition of Le Prévost and Delisle has been cited for over a hundred years, the pages of that edition are indicated by numbers in the margins.

[1] *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. Sir F. Maurice Powicke and E. B. Fryde (2nd edn. London, 1961).

[2] The author experienced a similar difficulty; see above, p. 105.

BOOKS I AND II: SUMMARY AND EXTRACTS

Introductory Note

BOOKS I and II of the *Ecclesiastical History* are, for the most part, made up of extracts from earlier works, from the Gospels onwards. These are either slightly adapted to Orderic's rhythmic cadences, or drastically summarized, and linked by passages of his own in which he explains his intention, or names his chief sources. The general prologue and the first four chapters of Book I, where Orderic was only gradually moving into a pastiche of sources are printed in full. From the fifth chapter onwards I have merely indicated, section by section, the passages where quotations or summaries predominate, with marginal page references to the edition of Le Prévost, where the full texts can be found, and notes on the sources cited or abbreviated. I have, however, printed in full Orderic's paragraphs of explanation, and any section where his writing predominates, or where he was possibly citing another source that I have failed to identify. Only the general prologue, which relates to the whole *Ecclesiastical History*, has been translated.

The first part of Book I, containing the *Life of Christ* and long excerpts from Bede's *Chronica maiora* contains little original material. But there are several long passages of Orderic's own composition in his continuation of Bede's chronicle and in these he was going over ground already familiar to him. He had previously written several summaries of Norman history, in addition to the full-scale treatment that formed the main body of his work. William I's death-bed speech in Book VII was a recapitulation of the main events of his reign; summaries were given from different angles in the history of the archbishops of Rouen in Book V, as a background to the early history of Saint-Évroul in Book VI, and in the Annals of Saint-Évroul, which Orderic himself wrote up for the first forty years of the twelfth century. In addition he had collected some relevant notes, probably as rough material for later use; these can be found in the rejected

chapters at the beginning of Book VII (below, iv. 351–2). The material must have been at his finger-tips, so that he could have written from memory, blending earlier chronicles and oral sources, when he came to compile his own chronicle. In making very brief summaries of world history, too, he was inclined to copy from other parts of his own work; he expanded or contracted information according to the scale on which he was writing at any moment, and introduced new material where it seemed appropriate. Single sources for periods unfamiliar to him, such as the *Historia Francorum senonensis* are readily identifiable; the interwoven sources of the more familiar sections cannot be so clearly discerned.

The first part of Book II, containing the lives of the apostles, is the most liturgical section of the whole *Ecclesiastical History*. Orderic used, along with many apocryphal lives, some of the *Vitæ* and *Passiones* that became an accepted part of the *legenda* for saints' days, and quoted a number of hymns invoking individual saints, which formed part of the office for their festivals. Many of these were common to England and Normandy, and were in use at Winchester, Salisbury and elsewhere. Because of small verbal differences, and occasional extra verses, these hymns have been printed in full where they occur, and references are given to parallels in the printed rite of Salisbury and some early English hymnals. The material has some interest for Norman liturgical customs at the time.[1]

In the second part of Book II, the lives of the popes, Orderic's principal source was the *Liber Pontificalis*, to which he added material from the False Decretals and relevant chronicles, with the supposed dates of the deaths of many popes supplied from their feast days in the calendar, on the mistaken assumption that these days marked their obits. Although careful in some things, Orderic failed to notice that the supposed lengths of pontificates and vacancies were incompatible with some of the dates he assigned to the deaths of popes. Again, he was not always careful in copying numbers; but trivial variations from the manuscripts (Alençon MS. 18 and Rouen MS. 31) which he used have not been indicated; this part of his work was not recopied, and his slips have little significance.

[1] Cf. the *Lectionarium ad usum chori* from Saint-Évroul (Rouen MS. 1388).

Prologue

i. 1 *Incipit prologus in æcclesiasticam hystoriam*

ANTERIORES nostri ab antiquis temporibus labentis seculi excursus prudenter inspexerunt, et bona seu mala mortalibus contingentia pro cautela hominum notauerunt, et futuris semper prodesse uolentes scripta scriptis accumulauerunt. Hoc nimirum uidemus a Moyse et Danihele factum aliisque agiographis, hoc in Darete Phrigio et Pompeio Trogo comperimus aliisque gentilium historiographis, hoc etiam aduertimus in Eusebio et
i. 2 Orosio de Ormesta mundi anglicoque Beda et Paulo cassiniensi aliisque scriptoribus æcclesiasticis. Horum allegationes delectabiliter intueor, elegantiam et utilitatem sintagmatum laudo et admiror, nostrique temporis sapientes eorum notabile sedimen sequi cohortor. Verum quia non est meum aliis imperare, inutile saltem nitor ocium declinare:' et memetipsum exercens aliquid actitare, quod meis debeat simplicibus sinmatitis placere.

In relatione quam de restauratione Vticensis cœnobii, iubente Rogerio abbate simpliciter prout possum facere institui:' libet ueraciter tangere nonnulla de bonis seu malis primatibus huius nequam seculi. Non arte litteratoria fultus, nec scientia nec facundia preditus:' sed bonæ uoluntatis intentione prouocatus appeto nunc dictare de his quæ uidemus seu toleramus. Decet utique ut sicut nouæ res mundo cotidie accidunt, sic ad laudem Dei assidue scripto tradantur, et sicut ab anterioribus preterita gesta usque ad nos transmissa sunt:' sic etiam presentia nunc a
i. 3 presentibus futuræ posteritati litterarum notamine transmittantur. De rebus æcclesiasticis ut simplex æcclesiæ filius sincere fari dispono, et priscos patres pro posse moduloque meo nisu sequens sedulo:' modernos Christianorum euentus rimari et propalare satago, unde presens opusculum æcclesiasticam historiam appellari affecto. Quamuis enim res alexandrinas seu grecas uel romanas aliasque relatu dignas indagare nequeam, quia claustralis cenobita ex proprio uoto cogor irrefragabiliter ferre monachilem obseruantiam, ea tamen quæ nostro tempore uidi uel in uicinis regionibus accidisse comperi, elaboro conibenti Deo simpliciter et ueraciter enucleare posterorum indagini. Firmiter ex coniectura preteritorum opinor, quod exurget quis

Here begins the Prologue to the Ecclesiastical History

OUR predecessors in their wisdom have studied all the ages of the erring world from the earliest times, have recorded the good and evil fortunes of mortal men as a warning to others, and, in their constant eagerness to profit future generations, have added their own writings to those of the past. This we see achieved by Moses and Daniel and other writers of the Hagiographa; this we find in Dares Phrygius and Pompeius Trogus and other historians of the gentiles, this too we perceive in Eusebius and the *De Ormesta mundi* of Orosius and Bede the Englishman and Paul of Monte Cassino and other ecclesiastical writers. I study their narratives with delight, I praise and admire the elegance and value of their treatises, I exhort the learned men of our own time to imitate their remarkable erudition. Because it is not my lot to direct others in what they should do, I can at least endeavour to shun vain idleness, and bestir myself to undertake something which may give pleasure to my ordinary fellow-students.

In the narrative of the restauration of the abbey of Saint-Évroul, which at the command of Abbot Roger I undertook to write plainly to the best of my ability, I have occasion to touch truthfully on some matters concerning the good or evil leaders of this wretched age. Now, equipped with no literary skill to support me and endowed with neither knowledge nor eloquence, but inspired by the best intentions, I set about composing an account of the events which we witness and endure. It is fitting that, since new events take place every day in this world, they should be systematically committed to writing to the glory of God, so that —just as past deeds have been handed down by our forebears present happenings should be recorded now and passed on by the men of today to future generations. My purpose is to speak truthfully about ecclesiastical affairs as a simple son of the Church; eagerly striving to follow the early Fathers according to the small measure of my ability, I have set out to investigate and record the fortunes of the Christian people in this present time, and therefore I have ventured to call this work the *Ecclesiastical History*. For although I cannot explore Macedonian or

me multo perspicacior, ac ad indagandos multimodarum quæ per orbem fiunt rerum euentus potentior: qui forsitan de meis aliorumque mei similium scedulis hauriet, quod chronographiæ narrationique suæ dignanter ad notitiam futurorum inseret. Præcipuam nempe in hoc fiduciam habeo, quod hoc opus incepi uenerandi senis Rogerii abbatis simplici precepto, tibique pater
i. 4 Guarine qui secundum æcclesiæ ritum ei legitime succedis exhibeo, ut superflua delens incomposita corrigas, et emendata uestræ sagacitatis auctoritate munias. In primis ordior de principio sine principio, cuius ope ad ipsum finem sine fine peruenire desidero, deuotas laudes cum superis in æternum caniturus alfa et omega.

Explicit prologus

Greek or Roman affairs and many other matters worthy of the telling, because as a cloister monk by my own free choice I am compelled to unremitting observance of my monastic duty, nevertheless I can strive with the help of God and for the consideration of posterity to explain truthfully and straightforwardly the things which I have seen in our own times, or know to have occurred in nearby provinces. I firmly believe, following the prognostications of earlier writers, that in time someone will come with greater understanding than myself, and greater capacity for interpreting the various events taking place on earth, who will perhaps derive something from my writings and those of others like me, and will graciously insert this in his chronicle or history for the information of future generations. I hold this opinion all the more confidently because I began this work at the clear command of the venerable old abbot, Roger, and am now offering it to you, Father Warin, his legitimate successor according to the custom of the Church, so that you may delete what is superfluous, correct its infelicities, and set the seal of your wisdom and authority on the emended version. First of all I will tell of the Beginning that has no beginning, by whose aid I aspire to come to the End that has no ending, where I may sing devout praises with those above for ever and ever, to him who is alpha and omega.

Here ends the Prologue

i. 5 *Incipit liber primus æcclesiasticæ hystoriæ*

OMNIPOTENS uerbum per quod Deus pater omnia condidit,[1] uitis uera summusque paterfamilias qui uineam plantauit, et a mane usque ad undecimam horam intromissis operariis excolit,[2] ut uberem fructum ex eadem colligere possit: eandem uineam id est sanctam æcclesiam nullo tempore desistit colere, eiusque palmites per omnia mundi climata nobiliter propagare. [3]Ipse nimirum qui uerus est omnium rex seculorum, et uerus pontifex futurorum bonorum, uerusque propheta hominumque dominus et angelorum: oleo letitiæ præ participibus suis ineffabiliter unctus, inestimabilisque consilii paternæ dispensationis angelus: secundum oracula prophetarum qui spiritu sancto edocti ceu stellæ in huius seculi nocte fulserunt, et uelut galli somnolentos antelucanum canendo excitantes dominici aduentus misteria uaticinati sunt: regiam uirginem Mariam de familia David regis ortam de multis milibus unam elegit, omnique uirtutum copia gloriose insignitam sibi matrem effecit. Generosa uirgo uirtutum insigniis adornata, Ioseph iusto diuinitus desponsata a Gabriehele archangelo salutata, de spiritu sancto impregnata, desidera-
i. 6 tum cunctis gentibus saluatorem quem sine delicto concepit: viii kal. ianuarii sine dolore mundo peperit. Sic dominus noster Iesus Christus prima census ascriptione, Cirino Siriæ presidente,[4] secundum ordinem totius prophetiæ quæ de ipso predicta est: in Bethleem Iudæ oppido natus est. Præclara ut ueraces scripturæ referunt signa nascente Christo celitus ostensa sunt: et angeli de salute hominum pie gratulantes cecinerunt, Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ uoluntatis.[5]

[6]Anno itaque Cesaris Augusti xlii, ab interitu uero Cleopatræ et Antonii quando et Ægiptus in prouinciam uersa est xxviii, olimpiadis uero centesimæ nonagesimæ tertiæ anno tertio, ab urbe autem condita septingentesimo quinquagesimo secundo, id est eo anno quo compressis cunctarum per orbem terræ gentium motibus, firmissimam uerissimamque pacem ordinatione Dei Cesar Octauianus composuit, Iesus Christus filius Dei sextam
i. 7 mundi ætatem aduentu suo consecrauit. Ab inicio mundi usque

[1] Cf. Eusebius, *HE* I. ii. 4–14.
[2] Matthew xx. 1–16.
[3] Eusebius, *HE* I. iii. 7–20.
[4] Luke ii. 2.
[5] Luke ii. 14.
[6] Bede, *Chron.*, pp. 281–2.

ad natiuitatem Christi secundum hebraicam ueritatem anni mmm.dcccclii numerantur iuxta computationem uero Isidori ispalensis episcopi aliorumque quorundam doctorum mmmmm. cliiii supputantur. Porro secundum computationem Eusebii Cesariensis et Ieronimi ab Adam usque ad xviii annum Tiberii Cesaris quando Christus passus est anni mmmmm.ccxxxi fiunt.

Omnis credentium multitudo in spiritu sancto exultet, æternumque creatorem indesinenter adoret, eique tota uirtute sacrificium laudis immolet, qui unicum filium suum sibi sanctoque spiritui coæternum et consubstantialem incarnari constituit, et a reatu mortis seruum indebita morte filii absoluit. Clemens enim conditor qui plasma suum quod ad imaginem et similitudinem sui fecerat lapsum esse condoluit, inestimabilique consilio inexhaustæ profunditatis suæ decreuit ut coæqualis sibi damnatum in ergastulo filius seruum uisitaret, hominemque de captiuitate propriis ad gregem humeris pie reportaret, nouemque ordines angelorum sui restauratione numeri perfecte letificaret.

2

Filius itaque Dei homo factus id quod fuit permansit, et quod non erat assumpsit,[1] non commixtionem passus neque diuisionem cum patre sanctoque spiritu regens omnia per diuinitatem, infirma uero nostræ carnis tolerans per assumptam humanitatem. i. 8
Legem quam per Moysen dederat inuiolabiliter seruauit et omnem iusticiam ipse legifer per omnia impleuit. Nam octaua die circumcisus est et xl die cum legali oblatione in templo patri oblatus est.[2] Sed quamuis uirgo mater diuæ prolis alligaret membra pannis inuoluta, et pedes manusque stricta cingeret fascia, tenerque infans inter arta conditus presepia, uagiret pro humana quam patris uelle susceperat miseria, sullimis tamen Deus orto in æthere nouo sidere monstratus est et a magis orientalibus diuinitus illustratis in Bethleem requisitus est, ibique in cunabulis inuentus ac ut Deus adoratus est.[3] Prudentes magi tria munera de thesauris suis preciosa protulerunt, aurum, thus et mirram Christo sponte optulerunt quibus ipsum summum

[1] Augustine, *De cons. evang.* I. xxxv. 53, 'manens id quod erat, factus quod non erat'.

[2] Luke ii. 21–3.

[3] Matthew ii. 1–12; cf. Jerome, *In Matth.* i. 146–7; Rabanus, In Matth. i. 2 (col. 759).

regem uerumque Deum et mortalem hominem preconati sunt. Electionis gentium primitiæ in his consecratæ sunt: quæ[a] de Saba aliisque nationibus late per orbem dispersis ad Christum in Bethleem properauerunt. In somnis ab angelo commoniti ne redirent ad Herodem: per aliud iter in suam leti repedarunt regionem.

[1]Tempore purgationis suæ uirgo parens deuota templum adiit, Deoque patri puerum presentauit, quem Simon senex iustus in ulnis suscepit. Felix silicernius in Deo exultauit, quia diu expectatum salutarem gentium uidit, per spiritum sanctum agnouit, manibus gestauit, eumque populis uitæ et mortis esse dominum predicauit, et multis admirantibus cum ingenti tripudio benedixit. Anna prophetes filia Phanuel gaudens affuit,
i. 9 uidua uirtutibus pollens Christum agnouit, ipsumque palam omnibus qui redemptionem prestolabantur Ierusalem iam uenisse precinuit. Parentes pro eo par turturum aut duos pullos columbarum optulerunt, quibus æcclesiæ nitida castitas et blanda simplicitas prefiguratæ sunt.

Ecce nato in carne domino non solum angeli cœlorum, sed et omnis ætas mortalium, et sexus reddit testimonium. Virgo Maria spiritus sancti cooperatione concepit, peperit et lactauit, eique per omnia efficaciter ipsius ope ministrauit. [2]Iohannes in utero matris dominum leto gestu suum salutauit, et repleta spiritu sancto Helisabeth triplici prophetiæ modo æcclesiæ de Messya et eius genitrice prophetauit. [3]Glorificauerunt angeli Deum, pro humana redemptione incarnatum: qui dum nos conspiciunt redimi, suum gaudent numerum repleri. [4]Angelica uisitatione pastores instructi Bethleem accurrunt, panem uiuum qui de cœlo descendit in presepio querunt, infantem qui cœlis presidet pannis inuolutum inueniunt, pastorum preconiis audientium corda de Christi noticia gaudium ac admirationem concipiunt. Zacharias et Simeon[5] iusti senes Christum confitentur, et de illo futura uaticinantur, quibus in Christi amore anus beata fideliter Anna comitatur. [6]Bonis itaque felici iocunditate gratulantibus, Herodes inusitatis rumoribus auditis contristatur impius, et iubet omnes a bimatu et infra in Bethleem perimi et in cunctis eius finibus. Translato Iesu cum intacta matre a

[a] *Sic in MS.*; *more correctly* qui.
[1] Luke ii. 22–38. [2] Luke i. 41–5. [3] Bede, *In Lucam*, i. 1314–16.
[4] Luke ii. 8–18. [5] Luke i. 67; ii. 25–38. [6] Matthew ii. 13–16.

Ioseph in Ægiptum, Herodis furia crudeliter effusus est sanguis infantum, et campi Bethleem maduerunt cruore innocentum. i. 10
Christus autem pro se trucidatos in suum transtulit thalamum, ubi feliciter laureati tripudiant in perpetuum.

3

Saluator xxxii annis et iii mensibus in terris conuersatus est: sed peccati expers dolum locutus non est, solusque inter mortuos liber ab omni culpa repertus est. In inicio xxx anni Iordanis alueum expetiit, a Iohanne baptismate intinctus aquas sanctificauit: et sic exemplum totius humilitatis sequacibus suis ostendit. Iesu baptizato et orante cœlum apertum est. Corporali vero specie sicut columba super eum spiritus sanctus descendere uisus est: et uox patris de cœlo audita est, Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo michi complacui.[1] Merito Iohannes precellit inter natos mulierum, cum se Christus credit baptizandum, inuisibilis se spiritus exhibet uidendum, suum de cœlo pater commendat filium. Sic beato precursori misterium trinitatis, ostenditur in baptismo saluatoris.[2]

Dominus Iesus qui duodecimo ætatis suæ anno in templo in medio doctorum sedit, nec docens sed interrogans inueniri uoluit: annorum xxx baptizatur et exinde prodigiis Deus declaratur. Triennio signa facit: et discipulos erudit. [3]Tricennalis ætas nostri saluatoris intimat sacramentum nostri baptismatis i. 11
propter fidem sanctæ trinitatis, et operationem decalogi legalis. [4]Legifer etiam noster sic admonet homines ne audeant in infirma ætate predicare, seu temere prelationes appetere: sed legitimum et maturum tempus ad sacerdotium uel ad docendum studeant humiliter expectare.

4

Amodo continuationem miraculorum domini nostri Iesu Christi, quæ in iiii euangeliorum libris scripta sunt libet intueri: et ueraciter compendioseque paginis annotare, ut facilius ibidem

[1] Matthew iii. 1–17; Mark i. 9–11; Luke iii. 21–2; cf. Bede, *In Lucam*, i. 2544–7.
[2] Bede, *In Lucam*, i. 2583–6, 2594–5.
[3] Bede, *In Lucam*, i. 2627–9.
[4] Rabanus, *In Matth.* i. 3 (col. 775).

perspecta possim ad mentem reuocare. Seriem rerum prout quattuor euangelistæ descripserunt inuestigo, ipsoque qui linguas infantium facit disertas donante breuiter propinare peropto. Et quia chronographiam decreui contexere, iustum est ut in primis certitudinem temporum diligenti designem conamine, prout sancti æuangelistæ aliique historiographi scriptis suis iamdudum enodauere.

[1]Octauianus Cesar Augustus Gaii Iulii Cesaris ex sorore Octauia nepos et heres, Romanorum secundus regnauit annis lvi, et mensibus sex: cuius xlii anno Christus natus est. Tiberius
i. 12 priuignus Augusti Libiæ uxoris eius ex priore marito filius annis xxiii regnauit: cuius xviii anno Christus passione sua mundum redemit.

Post mortem Herodis Antipatri Ascalonitæ prolis qui xxxiiii annis in Iudea regnum usurpauit, [2]Archelaus filius eius x annis[3] super Iudeos tirannidem exercuit. Cuius pro metu Ioseph ut Matheus astruit, postquam angelico iussu de Ægipto rediit: cum puero et matre in Galileam secessit, et Nazareth habitauit. Archelaus autem a Iudeis ob intolerabilem animi ferocitatem apud Augustum criminatus decidit, et æterno apud Viennam Galliæ urbem exilio disperiit.[4] Regnum uero Iudeæ quo minus ualidum fieret: tribus eius idem Augustus per tetrarchias scindere curauit. Porro Pilatus xii anno Tiberii Cesaris Iudeam missus procurationem gentis suscepit, et inibi per x continuos annos usque ad ipsum pene finem Tiberii perdurauit.[5] Herodes, Philippus et Lisanias ut Lucas refert cum illo Iudeam regebant, filii Herodis senioris sub quo dominus natus est.[6]

Omne tempus quo Dominus noster in terris docuisse describitur: intra quadriennii spacia coartatur. [7]Nam tunc ut Iosephus refert Anna deturbato, pontificatum Iudeorum per successiones
i. 13 tenuerunt Ismahel filius Baffi, Eleazarus Ananiæ pontificis filius et Simon Canufi filius, atque Iosephus Caiphas qui Iesum pro gente moriturum prophetauit. Eusebius Cesariensis a vi anno Darii qui post Cirum et Cambisem regnauit, quando opera templi consummata sunt: usque ad Herodem et Augustum numerat in Danihele ebdomades vii et lx duas, quæ faciunt

[1] Bede, *Chron.*, pp. 280–3. [2] Bede, *In Lucam*, i. 2175.
[3] The figures in Bede's *Chronica* are 36 and 9.
[4] Bede, *In Lucam*, i. 2176–8. [5] Bede, *In Lucam*, i. 2178–82.
[6] Luke iii. 1; Bede, *In Lucam*, i. 2172–4.
[7] Eusebius, *HE* 1. x. 2–6, citing Josephus, *Ant.* xviii. 2. 2.

annos cccclxxxiii quando Christus, id est Hircanus de genere Machabeorum nouissimus pontifex ab Herode iugulatus est,[1] et iuxta legem successio pontificum cessauit. Yppolitus uero regni Persarum ducentos xxx supputat annos, et Macedonum ccc et post illos usque ad Christum xxx, id est ab initio Ciri regis Persarum usque ad aduentum Domini dlx numerat annos. Hæc de temporum serie studioso lectori rimatus intimaui, quod sol iusticiæ sexta ætate ortus est in nouissima hora huius seculi.[2] Amodo propositum opus de meo aggrediar domino, cuius in omnipotenti benignitate confido, et opem ut inceptum digne peragam ad laudem ipsius fideliter inuoco.

5

'Iesus plenus . . . gaudio perenni.' Abbreviates John ii. 1–11, Matthew iv. 1–11 (cf. Mark i. 12–13, Luke iv. 1–13); commentary, Bede, *In Lucam*, i. 3068–71. i. 14

'Saluator . . . omnes eiecit.' John ii. 12–17.

'In die festo . . . passione.' John ii. 23; abbreviates John ii. 23, iii. 1–21. i. 14–15

'Post hæc . . . per Samariam.' Abbreviates John iii. 22–36, iv. 3–4. i. 15

'In ciuitate . . . in eum crediderunt.' Abbreviates John iv. 5–30, 39–42.

'Inde Iesus . . . descendit Capharnaum.' Abbreviates Luke iv. 14–31. i. 15–16

'Venit iterum . . . in Galileam.' Abbreviates John iv. 46–54. i. 16

6

'Cum audisset . . . regnum celorum.' John iv. 54, Matthew iv. 12–15, 17; commentary, Jerome, *In Matth.* i. 393–400; Jerome, *De nom. heb.* lxxii, 137, 139; Rabanus, *In Matth.* ii. 4 (cols. 787–8). i. 16–17

'Ambulans . . . ascribat.' Matthew iv. 18, 21–22 (cf. Mark i. 16–20, Luke v. 2–11); commentary, Isidore, *Etym.* VII. ix. 6, 10, 12; Jerome, *De nom. heb.* lxxii. 141, 146, 147. i. 17

'Circumibat Iesus . . . propter corporalem uictum.' Matthew i. 17–18

[1] Eusebius, *HE* I. vi. 1–11.
[2] Bede, *Chron.*, p. 282.

iv. 23–5 (cf. Mark iii. 7–8, Luke vi. 17–19); commentary, Rabanus, *In Matth.* ii. 4 (col. 793).

i. 18–19 'Videns autem . . . perorauit.' Summarizes Matthew v. 3–48, vi. 1–34, vii. 1–27.

i. 19 'Cum consumasset . . . data erant.' Matthew vii. 28–9.

i. 19 'Cum autem descendisset . . . uerbo sanauit.' Summarizes Matthew viii. 5–13; commentary, Rabanus, *In Matth.* iii. 8 (cols. 855–6); cf. Bede, *In Lucam*, ii. 690–717.

'Sabbato . . . sanatus est.' Luke iv. 33–7; Mark i. 23–7.

i. 19–20 'Mox de sinagoga . . . remedio sanantur.' Matthew viii. 14–17, Mark i. 29–34, Luke iv. 38–41; commentary, Bede, *In Lucam*, ii. 474–6; Rabanus, *In Matth.* iii. 8 (col. 861).

7

i. 20 'Multas turbas . . . fortiter opitulatur.' Matthew viii. 18, 23–6; commentary, Rabanus, *In Matth.* iii. 8 (cols. 863–5).

i. 20–21 'Trans fretum . . . sordidati condemnantur.' Matthew viii. 28–34 (cf. Mark v. 1–17, Luke viii. 26–37); commentary, Bede, *In Lucam*, iii. 663–73, 684–6, 773–9; *In Marcum*, ii. 104–110, 198–205; Rabanus, *In Matth.* iii. 8 (cols. 867–9).

i. 22 'Ascendens Iesus . . . in domum suam abiit.' Matthew ix. 1–8, Mark ii. 3–12 (cf. Luke v. 17–28).

'Inde Iesus transiens . . . ad cœlestes epulas.' Matthew ix. 9–13, Mark ii. 14–17, Luke v. 29–32; commentary, Bede, *In Marcum*, i. 863–70; Rabanus, *In Matth.* iii. 9 (cols. 875–7).

i. 22–3 'Dum loqueretur . . . resurrectionis.' Matthew ix. 14–17 (cf. Mark ii. 18–22, Luke v. 33–9); commentary, Bede, *In Marcum*, i. 926–31, *In Lucam*, ii. 1007–12.

i. 23–4 'Loquente Iesu . . . cum plenitudo gentium introierit saluabitur.' Matthew ix. 18–26, Mark v. 22–43, Luke viii. 41–56 (cf. Augustine, *De cons. evang.* ii. 28); commentary, Bede, *In Lucam*, iii. 928–9, 873–5, 892, 907–17.

i. 24–5 'Inde Iesu . . . eicit demones.' Matthew ix. 27, 29–30, 32–4.

'Iesum in deserto . . . insigniter excellunt.' Luke iv. 42, v. 1–6, vi. 12–16, Matthew, x. 2–4 (cf. Mark iii. 16–19); commentary, Bede, *In Marcum* i. 1278–92; cf. Isidore, *Liber numerorum qui in sanctis scripturis occurrunt, De duodenario numero* (Migne, *PL* lxxxiii. 192–3); Rabanus, *De laud. S. Crucis* (Migne, *PL* cvii. 181–2).

8

'Gloriosus Emmanuhel totam Galileam circuiuit, in uillis, castellis et urbibus,[1] id est paruis et magnis . . . neque uirgam.' Matthew ix. 35–6, x. 7–10 (cf. Mark vi. 7–10). i. 25–6

'Multa quoque alia celestis magister saluberrima protulit monita: quæ ueraces simnistæ Matthæus et Lucas scriptis memoriæ commendauerunt.' i. 26

'Ibat Iesus . . . Dei laudatores.' Luke vii. 11–16; commentary, Bede, *In Lucam*, ii. 2261–2, 2293–5.

'Iohanni renuntiantur . . . conuerti noluerunt.' Abbreviates Matthew xi. 2–4, 16–24 (cf. Luke vii. 18–19, 31–2, x. 12–15; commentary, Rabanus, *In Matth.* iv. 11 (col. 914)). i. 26–7

'Deinde Iesus . . . reuelauit.' Matthew xi. 25. i. 27

'Pharisæis . . . etiam sabbati.' Matthew xii. 1–8, Luke vi. 1–5, Mark ii. 23–8.

'Introiuit . . . curauit omnes.' Mark iii. 1–6 (cf. Matthew xii. 1–8, Luke vi. 6–11, Augustine, *De cons. evang.* ii. 35–40).

'Tunc oblatus . . . soror et mater est.' Abbreviates Matthew xii. 22–42, 46–50 (cf. Mark iii. 31–5, Luke viii. 19–21). i. 28

'In illo die . . . præliantium est.' Abbreviates Matthew xiii. 1–23 (cf. Mark iv. 1–20, Luke viii. 4–15); commentary, Rabanus, *In Matth.* iv. 13 (col. 946); Jerome, *In Matth.* ii. 808–11; Bede, *In Marcum*, i. 1833–7, *In Lucam*, iii. 327–9. i. 28–9

'Deinde uerus . . . uoluntatibus uariis.' Abbreviates Matthew xiii. 24–33 (cf. Mark iv. 26–34, Luke xiii. 18–21); commentary, Rabanus, *In Matth.* iv. 13 (col. 946). i. 29

'Dimissis turbis . . . mirarentur.' Abbreviates Matthew xiii. 36–54. i. 29–30

9

'Rogatus . . . uade in pace.' Abbreviates Luke vii. 36–50; commentary, Bede, *In Lucam*, iii. 62–3, 68–9, 83–6. i. 30

'Euangelizante . . . Domini decorantur.' Luke viii. 1–3; commentary, Bede, *In Lucam*, iii. 286–9, 293–304. i. 30–31

'Die festo . . . testimonium perhibuit.' John v. 1–10; abbreviates John v. 11–47; commentary, cf. Rabanus, *De Universo* (Migne, *PL* cxi. 381). i. 31

[1] Orderic follows Rabanus, *In Matth.* iii. 9 (col. 836) in substituting this common formula for Matthew's 'omnes ciuitates et castella'.

i. 31–2 'In illo tempore . . . temeritatem tradentium.' Matthew xiv. 1–13, Mark vi. 14–33, John vi. 1 (cf. Luke, iii. 19–20, ix. 7–9); commentary, Rabanus, *In Matth.* v. 14 (cols. 962–3); Jerome, *In Matth.* ii. 1188–95.

i. 32–3 'Cum audissent . . . nobis occubuit.' Matthew xiv. 13–15; abbreviates Matthew xiv. 16–21, Mark vi. 35–44, Luke ix. 11–17; commentary, Bede, *In Marcum*, ii. 882–3, 895–7; cf. Bede, *In Lucam*, iii. 1272–3, 1295–6.

i. 33–4 'Homines cum uidissent . . . quare dubitasti?' Abbreviates Matthew xiv. 22–31, Mark vi. 45–61, John vi. 19.

i. 34 'Ascendente Iesu . . . salui facti sunt.' Matthew xiv. 32–6 (cf. Mark vi. 53–6); commentary, Bede, *In Marcum*, ii. 903, 905–10.

i. 34 'Ibi contra . . . redarguit.' Abbreviates Matthew xv. 1–9, Mark vii. 1–13.

i. 34–5 'Turbæ in nauiculas . . . filius Dei.' John vi. 24–7; abbreviates John vi. 28–71.

i. 35–6 'Post hæc ambulabat . . . fuerat glorificatus.' Abbreviates John vii. 1–31, 37–9; commentary, Augustine, *In Johannem*, xxviii. 3.

i. 36 'Cum audissent . . . lares repetiere.' Abbreviates John vii. 40–53.

i. 36–7 'Iesus inde . . . præsumat interdicit.' John viii. 1–11; commentary, cf. Bede, *Homeliarum libri II* (*Corp. christ.* cxxii), i. 25.

i. 37 'In gazophilacio . . . exiuit de templo.' Abbreviates John viii. 12–59.

10

i. 38 'Præteriens . . . a dæmonio liberauit.' John ix. 1–7; abbreviates John ix. 14–x. 21.

i. 38 'Exiens de finibus . . . et mutos loqui.' Mark vii. 31–7.

i. 38–9 'Secus mare . . . cecos uidere.' Matthew xv. 29–31.

i. 39 'Hæc similiter in sancta æcclesia Dominus spiritualiter operatur, cuius ope turba peccatorum cotidie saluatur. [1]Muti sunt qui Deum non laudant, nec fidem confitentur. Ceci sunt qui non intelligunt, etiam si optemperent iubentibus. Surdi sunt qui non obtemperant, etiam si intelligant. Claudi sunt qui precepta non implent diuina, et uadunt per praui operis deuia. Tales

[1] Hand drawn in margin, pointing to 'Muti sunt'.

cotidie diuinitus sanantur, ac per uiam salutis perducuntur. Timentes Deum qui signa corporalia uidebant, leti regem sabaoth magnificabant. Nunc quoque pro conuersione reorum fideles exultant/ et Deum Israel qui bona cuncta facit pie magnificant.'

'Iesus conuocatis . . . trans fretum abiit.' Matthew xv. 32–9, Mark viii. 1–13; commentary, Jerome, *In Matth.* ii. 559–569, 1675–6. i. 39–40

'Bethsaidæ rogatus . . . nemini dixeris.' Mark viii. 22–6. i. 40

'Egressus Iesus . . . comitetur præmium.' Matthew xvi. 13–23, Mark viii. 27, 30–9. i. 40–1

'Post dies sex . . . de Iohanne Baptista dixisset.' Matthew xvii. 1–3, 5–9; abbreviates Matthew xvii. 10–13. i. 41–2

'In sequenti die . . . orationem et ieiunium.' Mark ix. 14, Matthew xvii. 14–16, Luke ix. 21, 19, 24–6, Matthew xvii. 18–20. i. 42

'Conuersantibus illis . . . uehementer.' Matthew xvii. 21–2. i. 42–3

II

'Et cum uenissent . . . peccatum non fecit.' Matthew xvii. 23–4, 25–6; commentary, Jerome, *In Matth.* iii. 439–43, 461–6; Rabanus, *In Matth.* v. 17 (col. 1005). i. 43

'Orta inter apostolos . . . turbas curauit.' Matthew xviii. 1–4; summarizes Matthew xviii. 5–35, xix. 1–2. i. 43–4

'Interrogantibus . . . regnum cœlorum.' Summarizes Matthew xix. 3–7, 13–15, Mark x. 13–16. i. 44

'Genu flexo . . . nouissimi primi.' Mark x. 17, Matthew xix. 16–24, 27–9. i. 44–5

Deinde parabolam proposuit de patrefamilias:/ qui conduxit operarios in uineam suam diuersis horis, et æqualem mercedem unius denarii dedit unicuique, incipiens a nouissimis usque ad primos.[1] Varietates horarum tipice intelliguntur secundum etates labentis seculi. Mane primo laborauit Abel. Tercia Noe. Sexta Abraham. Nona legislator Moyses. Vndecima hora Christus uenit, et gentiles populos cur in foro huius mundi ocio uacarent redarguit, et per fidem in æcclesiæ suæ uinea operari precepit. Aliter etiam possunt diuersitates horarum, ad unumquemque distingui per momenta ætatum. [2]Mane puericia est. Tercia:/ adolescentia. Sexta iuuentus. Nona senectus. Vndecima est

[1] Summarizes Matthew xx. 1–16.
[2] Hand drawn in margin, pointing to 'Mane puericia est'.

i. 46 decrepita ætas uel ueterana.[1] In his omnibus aliqui ad conuersionem perducuntur, et denario perennis uitæ remunerantur. De similitudine hac modernus uersificator sic ait,

Vinea culta fuit, cultores premia quærunt,
Non labor æqualis æqualia dona fuerunt.
Qui uenit extremus dispensatore uocante,
Tantundem recipit quantum qui uenerat ante.
Sic Deus ostendit, quod quandocumque uelimus
Aggrediamur opus certi de munere simus.

12

Hactenus opera quæ Dominus in inicio predicationis suæ fecit per biennium, prout ex dictis ediscere potui euangelistarum, pro salubri exercitatione perscrutatus sum, breuique relatu michi annotare conatus sum. Amodo libet anni tercii gesta inuestigare, insigniumque pondus rerum compendiose caraxare, postquam ipse Dominus de Galilea cepit in Iudeam migrare. ut misterium paternæ dispensationis in Ierusalem consummaret, et archana legis et prophetarum sua nobis ineffabili operatione reseraret. Primo quidem in Iudea docuit trans Iordanen ad orientem, post et citra Iordanen quando uenit Iericho et Ierusalem. Nam cum omnis Iudeorum prouincia generaliter ad distinctionem aliarum gentium Iudea sit, specialius tamen meridiana eius plaga appellabatur Iudea, ad distinctionem Samariæ, Galileæ, Decapolis et ceterarum in eadem prouincia regionum.

i. 46–7 'Ascendens Iesus . . . nomine facientem.' Summarizes Matthew xx. 17–28, Mark x. 32–45.

i. 47 'Dum iret . . . sed saluare.' Luke ix. 51–6.

'Septuaginta duos . . . non uiderunt.' Luke x. 1; summarizes Luke x. 2–24.

'Temptanti legis perito . . . elegisse asseruit.' Summarizes Luke x. 25–42.

i. 47–9 'Matthæus in oratione . . . subitam perniciem ingerit.' Matthew vi. 9–13, Luke xi. 2–4; commentary, Bede, *In Lucam*, iii. 2393–6, 2415–19, 2421–3, 2432–3; Luke xi. 5–14; commentary, Bede, *In Lucam* iii. 2467–8, 2433–8, 2479–93.

[1] The commentary is from Jerome, *In Matth.* iii. 973–86; Rabanus, *In Matth.* vi. 20 (cols. 1026–7); Abel is substituted for Adam in Jerome and Rabanus.

'Blasphemos . . . esse debere docuit.' Abbreviates Matthew xii. 27–32, 43–5, Luke xi. 21, 24–8, Matthew xii. 22, Luke xi. 33–6. i. 49

'Apud phariseum . . . quid locuturi sint, cogitare.' Abbreviates Luke xi. 37–44, Matthew xxiii. 13–32, Luke xii. 1–7. i. 49–50

'Petente quodam . . . in uia pronunciat.' Abbreviates Luke xii. 13–24, 32–59. i. 50

'Nunciatis quibusdam . . . differentes.' Abbreviates Luke xiii. 1–9.

'Mulierem . . . eius miraculis.' Abbreviates Luke xiii. 10–17. i. 50–51

'Regnum Dei . . . esse pascendos.' Abbreviates Luke xiii. 18–33, xiv. 2–14; commentary, Bede, *In Lucam*, iv. 1682–3. i. 51

13

'Multis modis . . . non festinat.' Abbreviates Luke xiv. 16–24; commentary, Bede, *In Lucam*, iv. 1935–6, 1939–46, 1961–70. i. 51–2

'Saluator sequentibus . . . exemplum proponit.' Abbreviates Luke xiv. 25–33. i. 52

'Murmurantibus . . . satisfaciat diuinæ.' Abbreviates Luke xv. 1–10; commentary, Bede, *In Lucam* iv. 2265–76.

'Dominus parabolam . . . conquestus est.' Abbreviates Luke xv. 11–32; commentary, Bede, *In Lucam*, iv. 2425, 2435–44, 2479–84, 2492–3. i. 52–3

'Deinde Dominus . . . puniri tenaces.' Abbreviates Luke xvi. 1–8, 13–31. i. 53

'Væ dicit . . . fateantur.' Abbreviates Luke xvii. 1–10; commentary, Bede, *In Lucam*, v. 650–6.

'Dum iret . . . referendas rediit.' Abbreviates Luke xvii. 11–19. i. 53

'Interrogatus . . . ordo figuratur.' Abbreviates Luke xvii. 20–37; commentary, Bede, *In Lucam*, v. 975–1026. i. 53–5

'Quoniam oportet . . . faciendi potestate.' Abbreviates Luke xviii. 1–14. i. 55

'Tradendum . . . pie restituit.' Abbreviates Luke xviii. 31–43.

'Perambulans Iericho . . . saluare quod perierat.' Abbreviates Luke xix. 1–10. i. 55–6

'Deinde parabolam . . . in Ierusalem.' Abbreviates Luke xix. 12–23; commentary, Bede, *In Lucam*, v. 1673–7, 1713–18, 1743–9, 1825–33. i. 56–7

i. 57 'Solus Iohannes . . . in eum crediderunt.' Abbreviates John x. 22–41; cf. Augustine, *De cons. evang.* IV. x. 18.

14

i. 57–8 'Bethaniæ Lazarus . . . insperatam resuscitationem[1] Lazari.' Abbreviates John xi. 1–8, 18–45.

i. 58–60 'Plures mortuos . . . ad uitam resuscitat.' Augustine, *In Iohannem*, xlix. 2–3, 12; cf. Bede, *In Lucam*, iii. 1052–89; *In Marcum*, ii. 450–509; Gregory, *Moralia*, xxii. 31, *Hom. in evang.* ii. 26. 6.

i. 60 'Diuulgato deitatis . . . tollerent eis regnum.' Abbreviates John xi. 46–56.

i. 60–1 'Iesus ante . . . in memoriam eius.' John xii. 1–7 (cf. Matthew xxvi. 10–13, Mark xiv. 6–9); commentary, Augustine, *In Iohannem*, l. 6–7; cf. Rabanus, *In Matth.* viii. 26 (cols. 1100–1).

i. 61 'Plures curiositate . . . Christi omnipotentiæ.' Based on John xii. 9–11.

15

i. 61–2 'In crastinum . . . propter mansuetudinem diligatur.' John xii. 12–13, Matthew xxi. 1–2, 6–7; commentary, Rabanus, *In Matth.*, vi. 21 (cols. 1037–8).

i. 62 'Plurima turba . . . perfecisti laudem?' Matthew xxi. 8–9, Mark xix. 39–44, Matthew xxi. 10–17.

i. 63 'Circumspectis omnibus . . . fructus habuit.' Mark xi. 11, Matthew xxi. 17–20; commentary, Rabanus, *In Matth.* vi. 21 (col. 1044).

'Interrogantes . . . spernens contradixit.' Abbreviates Matthew xxi. 23–32 (cf. Mark xii. 27–33, Luke xx. 1–8).

i. 63–4 'Aliam quoque . . . humilis accipit.' Abbreviates Matthew xxi. 33–41, Luke xx. 9–16; commentary, Jerome, *In Matth.* iii. 1570–5; Rabanus, *In Matth.* vi. 21 (cols. 1050–3).

i. 64 'Tertiam parabolam . . . quæ Dei sunt.' Abbreviates Matthew xxii. 1–22.

'Saducæi quoque . . . corruptionis labe.' Abbreviates and quotes Matthew xxii. 23–30; commentary, Rabanus, *In Matth.* vi. 22 (col. 1060).

[1] Not 'resurrectionem', as in Le Prévost.

'A legis doctore . . . potestati tradere.' Matthew xxii. 35–40; abbreviates Matthew xxii 41–6. i. 64–5

'Tunc Iesus ad turbas . . . resipiscere neglegit.'[1] Matthew xxiii. 1–13; abbreviates Matthew xxiii. 14–38. i. 65–6

'De templo Iesus . . . misisse confirmauit.' Abbreviates Matthew xxiv. 1–31, Mark xiii. 1–27; cf. Augustine, *De cons. evang.* II. lxxvii. 148–9; Luke xxi. 28, 34–6, xx. 45–7, xxi. 1–4 (cf. Mark xii. 38–44). i. 66

'Sub exemplo . . . consummauit.' Summarizes Matthew xxiv. 32–6, xxv. 1–46. i. 66–7

16

'Prima die . . . impleatur in regno Dei.' Matthew xxvi. 17–20, Luke xxii. 7–13, 15–16, Mark xiv. 12–18. i. 67

'Secundum Iohannem . . . qui me misit.' John xiii. 2–5, 12–20; cf. Augustine, *De cons. evang.* III. i. 4. i. 67–8

'Matthæus refert . . . Patris mei.' Matthew xxvi. 21–3, 26–9. i. 68

'Dominus . . . ter orasse.' Based on Rabanus, *In Matth.* viii. 26 (col. 1115). i. 68–9

'Iohannes insignis . . . iam sui passione.' Abbreviates John xiii. 5–20; cites John xiii. 21–31; summarizes John xiii. 32–xvii. 26. i. 69

'Incomparabili finito . . . Satis est.' Abbreviates Luke xxii. 24–30; cites Luke xxii. 31–6, 38. i. 69–70

17

'Et ymno dicto . . . sed tua fiat.' Matthew xxvi. 30–1, 36–7, Mark xiv. 26–7, 32–3, Luke xxii. 40–2; commentary, Bede, *In Marcum*, iv. 764–5; cf. Augustine, *De cons. evang.* III. ii. 6. i. 70–1

'Apparuit autem . . . et reliqua.' Luke xxii. 43–4, John xviii. 1–4, Matthew xxvi. 49–50, John xviii. 5–6; cf. Augustine, *De cons. evang.* III. v. 15. i. 71

'Videntes autem . . . non bibam illum?' Luke xxii. 49–51, John xviii. 10–11, Matthew xxvi. 51–4; cf. Augustine, *De cons. evang.* III. v. 16. i. 71–2

'Tunc sicut Lucas . . . socerum Caiphæ ductus est.' Matthew xxvi. 55–6, Luke xxii. 53, Mark xiv. 51–2, John xviii. 12–13; cf. Augustine, *De cons. evang* III. v. 18, 19. i. 72

[1] Not 'non uult', as in Le Prévost.

'Petrus autem . . . quod pœnitet, fidei.' Matthew xxvi. 58, Mark xiv. 54, Luke xxii. 55; commentary, Bede, *In Lucam*, vi. 1078–81.

i. 73 'Principes sacerdotum . . . fleuit amare.' Matthew xxvi. 59, 63–8, Mark xiv. 65; Augustine, *De cons. evang.* III. vi. 20–23; Matthew xxvi. 75; cf. Mark xiv. 71, Luke xxii. 61–2.

i. 73–4 'Pontifex Iesum . . . pontificem ligatum.' John xviii. 19–24.

i. 74 'Mane facto . . . cum Domino gesta erant.' Matthew xxvii. 1–2; Augustine, *De cons. evang.* III. vii. 27; Luke xxii. 63–xxiii. 1.

i. 74–5 'Iohannes quoque . . . Pilato traderetur.' John xviii. 28; Augustine, *De cons. evang.* III. vii. 27.

i. 75 'Solus Mattheus . . . prophetatum est.' Matthew xxvii. 3–9; Augustine, *De cons. evang.* III. vii. 28.

'Exinde sancti euangelistæ quæ per Pilatum cum Domino gesta sunt seriatim enarrare satagunt. Quæ studiosi lectores debent diligenter inuestigare, et singula suis in locis rationabiliter

i. 76 coaptare. In passione Christi ut sollers Augustinus hipponiensis episcopus in libro tertio de consensu euangelistarum scribit, "multa dicta sunt et multa responsa sunt. Vnde quisque eorum quantum sibi uisum est decerpsit, et in narratione sua posuit, quod satis esse iudicauit." '[1]

i. 76–7 'Iesus ut Mattheus asserit . . . inimici erant ad inuicem.' Matthew xxvii. 11, John xviii. 29–38, Luke xxiii. 2, Matthew xxvii. 12–14, 19, Luke xxiii. 4–12.

i. 77–9 'Pilatus conuocatis . . . Cesari contradicit.' Luke xxiii. 13–16, Matthew xxvii. 15–20, Luke xxiii. 19, Matthew xxvii 21–6, John xix. 1–13.

18

i. 79–80 'Pilatus ergo . . . portanda memoratum.' John xix. 14–16; Augustine, *De cons. evang.* III. ix. 35–6; Matthew xxvii. 27–31, Mark xv. 20–1; Augustine, *De cons. evang.* III. x. 37; John xix. 17, Matthew xxvii. 32.

i. 80 'In Golgotha . . . miserunt sortem.' Matthew xxvii. 33–7, Mark xv. 23, Luke xxiii. 38, John xix. 23–4.

i. 80–1 'Principes . . . in paradiso.' Luke xxiii. 35, Matthew xxvii. 39–40, Luke xxiii. 39–43.

[1] Augustine, *De cons. evang.* III. viii. 35, 'multa enim dicta et multa responsa sunt, unde cuique eorum quantum uisum est decerpsit et in narratione sua posuit quod satis esse iudicauit.'

'Stabant iuxta crucem . . . spiritum meum.' John xix. 25–7, Matthew xxvii. 45–7, John xix. 28–9, Luke xxiii. 46. i. 81–2

'Ad extremum . . . pectora sua redibant.' John xix. 30, Matthew xxvii. 51–6, Luke xxiii. 48. i. 82

'Cum iam sero . . . poneretur aspiciebant.' Matthew xxvii. 58, 61, Mark xv. 42–7, Luke xxiii. 50–2, John xix. 38–42. i. 82–3

'Altera die . . . munierunt.' Abbreviates Matthew xxvii. 62–6. i. 83

19

'Quædam in euangelica . . . quod explicatur a Iohanne.' Augustine, *De cons. evang.* III. xxiv. 68–xxv. 70. i. 83–7

'Omnes quattuor evangelistæ . . . resurrectionis confirmauit.' Augustine, *De cons. evang.* III. xxv. 83–4, with references to Luke xxiv. 34, 13–32, 36–49; John xx. 19–28, xxi. 1–14; Matthew xxviii. 16–20; Mark xvi. 14. i. 88–9

20

'Duas siquidem . . . sabbati habens iter.' Mark xvi. 15–19, Luke xxiv. 50–1, Act. apost. i. 4–13. i. 89–91

'Ibi ut Lucas testatur . . . gentes denuntiant.' Luke xxiv. 52–3; commentary, Bede, *In Marcum*, iv. 1995–2004; Gregory, *Hom. in evang.* xxix. 9. i. 91

'Petrus et Iohannes . . . cum undecim apostolis.' Paraphrases Act. apost. i. 15–26. i. 91–2

Hi sunt xii horæ diei, et perfecti xii menses anni, atque multis enigmatibus a prophetis et patriarchis iamdudum designati apostoli. Hos uenerantur omnes fidelium nationes, meritoque censentur cœli senatores, et æcclesiæ gloriosi principes, quia uere uiti Christo inheserunt fructuosi palmites. Eius enim in aruis uestigia specialiter imitati sunt spontanea paupertate inter homines, mirisque uirtutibus fulserunt insignes socii et consecretales: nunc uero in cœlestibus tronis confessores, et xii tribuum Israhelitarum iusti censores.[1] Et sicut in terris assidue cucurrerunt ad brauium uitæ Christi sequaces, et in æcclesia laboriose desudarunt eius uicarii ac testes: sic nunc illius beati choruscant in cœlis coheredes. i. 92

[1] Cf. Isidore, *Liber numerorum qui in sanctis scripturis occurrunt*, xiii (Migne *PL* lxxxiii. 192–3); Rabanus, *De laudibus S. Crucis* (Migne, *PL* cvii. 181).

21

i. 93–4 'Cum complerentur dies Pentecostes . . . hominem renouauit.' Act. apost. ii. 1–41; cf. Gregory, *Hom. in evang.* II. xxx. 1580; Bede, *In Lucam*, vi. 1024–43.

22

i. 94 Ecce iuuante Deo simpliciter prosecutus sum continuationem quandam a natiuitate Christi usque ad aduentum spiritus paracliti, et singula saluatoris miracula ex euangelicis codicibus seriatim breuiterque congessi: prout ipse secundum intellectulum meum indagare potui, siue dicacem Augustinum aliosque doctores sectatus caraxaui. In hoc nempe sedimine michi meisque similibus prodesse curaui, eis scilicet qui profunda doctorum prolixaque rimari fastidiunt conferre uolens aliquid emolumenti: dum dominica miracula per quattuor libros diffusa compaginaui, et in breui thomo examussim collecta annotaui. Porro nonnunquam eadem uerba quæ in libris autenticis uidebam auidus hausi, plerumque uero breuitatis causa dictatum mutaui, sed inuictam ueritatem ubique sectari summopere laboraui, nec ab autentica unquam sponte sententia exorbitaui.

Nunc quia certam proposui cronographyam scripto protelare; ut lectori clarius pateat ordo temporum quædam libet inserere, quæ antiqui patres in opusculis suis ediderunt de eadem re.

i. 95 Eusebius enim cesariensis et trilinguis Ieronimus, hiberi quoque sophistæ Orosius et hispalensis Isidorus, aliique plures multa scripserunt de seculi excursibus, precipueque apud nos Beda presbiter in libro de temporibus, qui postremus omnium anglicæ genti scripsit, stilumque priscorum ueraciter prosequi studuit.

23

i. 95–152 'Tiberius Octauiani . . . tanto patri debito condidit.' This long passage is copied, often literally, from Bede, *Chronica* (*De temporum ratione*, c. 66; *MGH AA* xiii. 282 ff.), with the following additions:

i. 100–1 The lists of the bishops of Jerusalem are taken from Eusebius, *HE* IV. v. 3, substituting Sextus for Benjamen, the sixth Jewish

bishop, and *HE* V. xii. 2, adding 'Alexander, Mazabbanes, Himeneus, Zabdas, Hermo, Macharius, Maximus, Cirillus et Iohannes' (cf. ibid., VI. xxxix. 2–3, VII. xxxii. 29).

On Origen, adds 'Leonidæ martyris filius in Cesarea Palestinæ Theodorum cognomento Gregorium et Athenodorum adolescentulos fratres, Ponti postea nobilissimos episcopos diuina phylosophya imbuit.' i. 107–8

After 'Insana Manicheorum heresis', adds 'et Sabellianorum' (cf. Isidore, *Chron.*, p. 461). i. 111

After 'Iulianus annos ii menses viii', adds 'Hic baptizatus et sacris ordinibus usque ad subdiaconatum[1] sullimatus fuit, sed relicto clericatu arma sustulit, imperioque arrepto ad ydolorum cultum conuersus . . .' (cf. Isidore, *Chron.*, p. 467). i. 116

Changes Bede's words, 'in qua homousio *ανομοιο*que reiecto, medium inter hæc homoeousion Macedonianum dogma uindicauerunt' (Bede, *Chron.*, p. 297), to 'in qua Macedonianum dogma spiritum sanctum blasphemans condemnatum est', and adds 'Iouinianus postquam in xx et nouem annos pacem cum Persis composuit, ad Romanum regressus est solum' (cf. Isidore, *Chron.*, p. 468). i. 117

After 'feminæ Vestinæ', adds 'Tunc famulus Christi Alexis obiit.' i. 121

'Circa hæc tempora . . . regno Francorum potitus est.' Based on *ASE*, 425, 431, 450, 473. i. 127–8

'Clodoueus rex Francorum . . . solennes instituit.' Based on *ASE*, 481, 499, 490. i. 130–1

'Clotharius rex . . . xxv annis regnauit.' Based on PD *HL* iii. 10; *ASE*, 556. i. 132–3

'Tunc bellicosus Alboin . . . Guinilis suis optinuit.' Based on PD *HL* iii. 7, 26. i. 133

'Mauricius filiam Tiberii . . . fasces Romanorum gessit.' Based on PD *HL* iii. 15. i. 134–5

'In Gallia . . . prodigiis choruscantes.' Based on *ASE*, 598, 617, 620, 633, 659, 622, 635, 677, 596, 611, 655, 657. i. 138

'Quarto anno Iustiniani in Francia Pipinus primus maior domus regiæ efficitur.' *ASE*, 687. i. 145

'Ceduual rex . . . promeruisse uides.' Bede, *HE* v. 7. i. 146–7

'Cuius anno tercio . . . Andegauim optinuit.' Based on *ASE*, 17, 718; cf. PD *HL* vi. 42. i. 151

[1] Not 'diaconatum', as in Le Prévost.

24

i. 152 Huc usque cronographyam anglici Bedæ secutus sum, qui
i. 153 scripsit usque ad dcc.xxxiiii ab incarnatione domini annum. Ipse nimirum Beda presbiter et Paulus cassiniensis religione monachi, eruditione magna imbuti, inter cetera bona studia historiam suæ gentis quinque libris ediderunt, et luculenter prompserunt, unde Guinili et Angli processerint, et qualiter Italiam Langobardi atque Britanniam Angli sibi subegerint. Amodo aliorum documenta patrum laboriose perscrutari cogor, et descriptionem temporum usque ad nostra prosequi tempora molior, quæ multis uariisque calamitatibus modo tetra sunt: dum duo presules de romano pontificatu iam per vi annos ambitiose contenderunt, et post mortem Henrici regis Anglorum de regno eius Stephanus nepos et Iosfredus gener ad multorum detrimenta minis et armis inimicicias exercuerunt.[1]

i. 153–4 'Constantinus Leonis . . . Constantinopoli congregauit.' Based on *ASE*, 722, 741, 755, 754.

i. 154 Anno ab incarnatione Domini dccliiii Stephanus papa malignitate Haistulfi Langobardorum regis fatigatus in Galliam confugit, a Francis honorifice susceptus Parisius ægrotauit, et conualescens apud Sanctum Dionisium altare dedicauit, Pipinum et filios eius Karolum et Karlomannum reges consecrauit, eisque defensionem totius sanctæ æcclesiæ contra cunctos hostes eius commendauit.[2]

Pipinus Francorum rex postquam xvi annis strenue regnauit: viii kal. Octobris moriens Karolo filio suo regnum reliquit. Karolus autem magnus xlvii annis regnauit,[3] et multa predicabilia tam in æcclesiasticis rebus quam in secularibus perpetrauit.

i. 155 Huius uirtutes ante Deum et homines magnæ fuerunt, et multorum ora ipsius acta cum admiratione referunt, auidisque auditoribus cum fauore summo concinunt. Ipse enim cum nobili Gallorum exercitu Romam perrexit, et inde remeans Desiderium regem Langobardorum cepit, Papiam aliasque ciuitates Italiæ sibi subiugauit, Pampeloniam destruxit, Cesaraugustam bellica

[1] This passage was written in 1136.

[2] Based partly on *LP* i. 447; but some facts are taken from another chronicle. The *Liber pontificalis* places Stephen's illness after the consecration of an altar at St. Denis. Cf. also Sigebert, p. 333.

[3] Sigebert, p. 333.

manu optinuit,[1] Saxones et Hispanos atque Sarracenos bellis protriuit, ethnicasque uires Christianæ uirtutis terrore humiliauit, et uexillum crucis in nomine Christi sullimauit.

'Leo Constantini ... Hungariam uastauit.' *ASE*, 783, 786, 787, 788, 790, 792, 793; cf. below, iii. 74.

His temporibus Adrianus et Leo per annos xlviii apostolicæ i. 156
sedi prefuerunt, admodum bonis operibus in presulatu fulserunt, et æcclesiæ Dei profuerunt. Tunc Constantinus et Leo aliusque Constantinus ut dictum est imperauerunt. A tempore enim Constantini magni Helenæ filii qui Constantinopolim condidit, usque ad tempus Constantini Hirenæ filii Constantinopolitanus imperator Romanum imperium rexit, et Illirico Italiæque multisque aliis nationibus et linguis prefuit. Sed quia plures ex ipsis imperatoribus heretici fuerunt, nec legitimo ritu a populo ad imperium eligente assumpti sunt, sed crudeli dominorum siue consanguineorum interfectione suorum augustale stemma nequiter surripuerunt, nec apte mediam partem tam latæ dominationis contra barbaros undique insurgentes defendere potuerunt,[2] Leo papa et conuentus senatorum populique romani conuenerunt, et de statu reipublicæ salubriter tractauerunt, iugumque Constantinopolitani principis a suo collo communi consilio abiecerunt, strenuumque regem Francorum Karolum qui iam i. 157
multa probitate illis patrocinatus fuerat elegerunt, et romano imponere fastigio decreuerunt.

'Quinto itaque Leonis ... cum Karolo fecit'. *ASE*, 800, 799, 805, 810. 'Aaron quoque rex Persarum legatos et amiciciæ munera Karolo direxit.'[3]

'Michahel gener ... translata sunt.' *ASE*, 811, 814, 823, 828; i. 157–8
cf. below, iii. 76.

'Michahel Theophili filius ... succenderunt.' *ASE*, 839, 840; i. 159
HFS, below, iv. 344; *ASE*, 841, 842.

'Basilius ... filia eius pacificatus est.' *ASE*, 866, 869, 887, i. 160–2
888, 900, 898, 908, 909, 911, 913, 911, 914.

Henrico imperante Karolus rex in carcere comitis Herberti i. 162
Parronæ obiit; et ingens dissensio Francos turbauit.[4] Tandem

[1] *ASE*, 774, 778; Sigebert, p. 334.
[2] Cf. Sigebert, p. 336.
[3] For the envoys sent by Haroun al Raschid cf. Sigebert, p. 336.
[4] Sigebert, pp. 346–7; cf. Interpolations in William of Jumièges (Marx, p. 152).

post quinque annos Ludouicus rex Karoli filius Gerbergam Henrici Teutonum regis filiam uxorem duxit.[1]

Constantinus cum Romano puero filio suo annis xv.

Tunc Otto filius Henrici regnare cepit, et xxxvi annis regnauit, et sororem Edelstani regis Anglorum coniugem habuit. Tunc Guillelmus Longa spata Rithulfum Ebroicensem in loco qui pratum belli dicitur uicit, et Arnulfus Flandriæ satrapa ipsum post octo annos xvi kal. Ianuarii Guillelmum occidit.[2] Guillelmo autem Ricardus uetus filius eius in ducatu successit, et liiii annis principatum strenue tenuit, et laudabilia opera perpetrauit.

i. 163–4 'Stephanus . . . annis xvi regnauit.' *ASE*, 953.

i. 164 Edgaro Edmundi filio Anglis imperante, et cultoribus Dei benigniter adminiculante, atque in omnibus quæ ad ædificationem æcclesiæ pertinent magistris fideliter optemperante,' Dunstanus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus et Oswaldus Eboracensis ac Adelwoldus Guentoniensis sanctitate et doctrina claruerunt, et commissas sibi plebes sollicite salubriterque rexerunt. Religionis institutionem totis nisibus amplexantes feliciter uiguerunt, et xxvi abbatias monachorum uel sanctimonialium in Anglia construxerunt. Danica quippe clades quæ ante aliquot annos

i. 165 beatum Edmundum regem Estanglorum martirizauerat,[3] super uniuersum etiam gregem Christi pene per totam Britanniæ insulam admodum debachata fuerat, et sacris ædibus destructis dominicas oues lupino more laniauerat seu disperserat.

Nicheforus imperator x annis.[4] Turbationes in mundo nimiæ seuierunt, auidique proceres cum subiectis exercitibus contra pares in bello consurrexerunt.

Iohannes occiso Nicheforo per uxorem eius regnauit,[5] cuius neptis Teophanu Ottoni imperatori nupsit. Quinto imperii eius anno Otto iunior obiit, et Otto filius eius post eum xviii annis regnauit.[6] Tunc Hugo magnus aliique proceres Francorum contra Ludouicum regem rebellauerunt. Prefatus quippe dux uestigia Rodberti patris sui secutus est,' qui contra Karolum Simplicem rebellauit et in regem unctus est.[7] Porro Karolus rex ut se a periuro duce contemptum perspexit, nondum anno expleto

[1] Cf. Dudo, *De moribus*, p. 245; Sigebert, pp. 347, 351.
[2] Cf. below, iii. 80; *ASE*, 934; Dudo, *De moribus*, pp. 188–9.
[3] Cf. *ASC*, 870.
[4] *ASE*, 969. [5] *ASE*, 979. [6] *ASE*, 983.
[7] *HFS*, below, iv. 345.

copiis undique contractis in desertorem surrexit, ipsumque Suessionis pugnando uicit et interfecit.

'Mense Maio ... regno potitus est.' *HFS*, below, iv. 346. i. 166

Tunc Hugo magnus Aurelianensis dux Francorum cunctis proceribus sullimior diuitiis et potentia uiguit. Hic filiam Ottonis imperatoris coniugem habuit, quæ tres ei filios peperit, Hugonem et Ottonem et Henricum, et filiam nomine Emma quæ Ricardo seniori Normannorum duci nupsit, sed sine liberis obiit.[1]

'Secundo anno Lotharii ... largitus est.' *HFS*, below, iv. 346–7. i. 166–9

'Anno ab incarnatione ... in Francia desiit.' *HFS*, below, iv. 348. i. 169–70

[2]Anno itaque dominicæ incarnationis dccccxciii Hugo dux in regem Remis unctus est: eodem quoque anno Robertus filius eius rex ordinatus est, et regimine regni xxxviii annis functus est. i. 171

'Ad tantum facinus Hugonem quædam uisio animauit. Sanctus enim ... regulares monachos subrogauit.' Abbreviates *Relatio S. Walarici*[3] (*AA SS Ord. S. Benedicti*, v. 558). i. 172

Non multo post ut dictum est regnum inuasit, et progenies euis usque in hodiernum diem in regno perdurauit. Quattuor enim reges de stirpe iam regnauerunt ipsius, id est Rodbertus, Henricus, Philippus et Ludouicus.

'Hugo rex ... scriptas diligenter seruatur.' *HFS*, below, iv. 348–9; cf. *Chron. Hugonis Floriacensis RHF* x. 220. i. 172–3

[4]Gerbertus in diuinis et secularibus libris eruditissimus fuit, et in sua scola famosos et sullimes discipulos habuit, Rodbertum scilicet regem et Leothericum Senonensem archiepiscopum, Remigium presulem Autissiodorensium, Haimonem atque Huboldum, aliosque plurimos fulgentes in choro sophystarum. Remigius pontifex luculentam expositionem super missam edidit, et artem uel editionem Donati grammatici utiliter exposuit. Haimo quoque sancti Pauli apostoli epistolas laudabiliter ex- i. 174

[1] Cf. Dudo, *De moribus*, p. 288.

[2] *HFS*, below, iv. 348. The following passage is printed, *RHF* x. 234–5.

[3] A copy of this work was at Saint-Évroul (Rouen MS. 1407).

[4] The account of Gerbert's teaching may have been derived orally from John of Rheims, who knew the traditions of his school. It is certainly independent of Richer's description of the school of Rheims (Richer, *Histoire de France*, ed. R. Latouche (Les classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen Âge, Paris, 1930–7), ii. 55–65). A few facts can be found in *HFS*, below, iv. 349.

planauit, et alia multa de euangeliis aliisque sacris scripturis spiritualiter tractauit. Huboldus autem musicæ artis peritus ad laudem creatoris in æcclesia personuit, et de sancta Trinitate dulcem historiam cecinit, aliosque multos delectabiles cantus de Deo et sanctis eius composuit. Hos aliosque plures Gerbertus erudiuit, quorum multiplex sequenti tempore scientia æcclesiæ
i. 175 Dei plurimum profuit. Qui postquam de throno Remensi quem illicite usurpauerat depositus est, cum rubore et indignatione Galliam relinquens ad Ottonem imperatorem profectus est, et tam ab ipso quam a populo ad presulatum Rauennæ electus est. Inde post aliquot annos ad sedem apostolicam translatus est: annoque dominicæ incarnationis dccccxcix Siluester papa sullimatus est.

Fertur de illo quod dum scolasticus esset cum demone locutus fuerit, et quid sibi futurum immineret inquisierit, a quo protinus ambiguum monadicon audiuit,

Transit ab R. Gerbertus ad R, post papa uigens R.[1]

Versipellis oraculum tunc quidem ad intelligendum satis fuit obscurum: quod tamen postmodum manifeste uidemus impletum. Gerbertus enim de Remensi kathedra transiuit ad presulatum Ravennæ ac postmodum papa factus est Romæ.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini mii: Otto imperator obiit,[2] eique Henricus successit. Dein mxxiiii Cono augustus imperauit,[3] cuius iii anno Ricardus secundus obiit, qui pro studio religionis pater monachorum appellari meruit. Tunc Egelredo Edgari filio
i. 176 regnante multa aduersa surrexerunt in regno Angliæ. Nam Suenus rex Danorum cum ingenti classe Angliam inuasit, et deficientibus ad eum Anglis Edelredus rex cum uxore et filiis in Normanniam fugit.[4] Emma enim uxor eius erat soror Ricardi Gunnoridæ ducis Normannorum, et Rodberti archiepiscopi Rotomagensium. Non multo post gentilis rex Suenus a sancto Edmundo rege et martyre occisus est, et cadauer eius aromatibus conditum in Daciam delatum est.[5] Daci quippe adhuc pagani erant, et ferocis heri cuius corpus anglica humo sepultum contineri non potuit morte perterriti fuerant. Porro Edelredus rex audita morte Sueni natale solum protinus repetiit, et dictis atque

[1] A slightly different version, with 'Scandit' for 'Transit', is given by Sigebert, p. 353; cf. also *RHF* x. 99.
[2] *ASE*, 1002. [3] *ASE*, 1024. [4] Cf. below, ii. 244.
[5] Cf. FW i. 168–9; *Miracula S. Edmundi* (*Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*), ed. T. Arnold (RS i. 1890), p. 39.

promissis suos desertores sibi conciliauit, et in rediuiuos hostes ut sese melius quam antea defenderent animauit. Cunutus autem filius Sueni contra suos ualde indignatus est quod fugissent, et nobile regnum Angliæ iam sibi subactum muliebriter deseruissent. Denique parata classe cum Lacman rege Suauorum et Olauo rege Noricorum in Angliam transfretauit, et Lundoniam obsedit.[1] Ibi tunc Edelredus rex ægrotauit et mortuus est; et Edmundus filius eius cognomento Irneside id est ferreum latus in regem leuatus est. Plerumque ab Anglis et Danis pugnatum est; uictoriæque sorte uariante multus sanguis utriusque partis i. 177 effusus est. Tandem industriis et solertibus uiris pacem procurantibus; duo principes necessarium populis fœdus pepigerunt. Chunutus autem christianus factus est; et Emmam Edelredi regis relictam cum medietate regni coniugem sortitus est. Hæc illi peperit Hardechunutum regem Anglorum; et Gunnildem uxorem Henrici imperatoris Romanorum.

Instigante Sathana qui lethaliter perturbare genus humanum iugiter satagit, Edmundus rex post vii annos fraude crudelis Edrici Streone latrinis interiit, et Cunutus totam Angliam i. 178 optinuit, et usque ad mortem possedit. Eduardum uero et Edmundum filios Edmundi elegantes albeolos in Daciam relegauit, et Sueno regi Danorum fratri suo ut eos interficeret mandauit. At ille generosos et innocentes pueros nequiter necare contempsit; sed orta occasione regi Hunorum illos quasi nepotes suos obsides dedit. Ibi Edmundus clito immatura morte obiit, Eduardus uero Dei nutu filiam regis in matrimonium accepit, et super Hunos regnauit. Edgarum uero adelinum et Margaritam reginam Scotorum et Christianam sanctimonialem genuit;[2] quos Eduardus Edelredi regis filius postquam patrium ius adeptus est accersiit, et ueluti propriam prolem in Anglia benigniter educauit.

[3]Anno ab incarnatione Domini mxxxi Rodbertus rex Francorum i. 179 obiit, et Henricus filius eius licet Constantia regina et Rodbertus iunior frater aliique Franci multum obstarent, auxiliante Rodberto duce cum robore Normannorum Galliæ regnum optinuit, et xxix annis regnauit. Anno quinto regni eius Rodbertus dux Normannorum in itinere Ierusalem apud Niceam Bithiniæ urbem

[1] Cf. below, ii. 244.

[2] Cf. FW i. 181; Florence, however, says that Edward married the daughter of the German emperor, Henry.

[3] Cf. below, iv. 350.

kal. Iulii obiit, et Guillelmus nothus filius eius octennis puer in ducatu successit, et l annis strenue tenuit. In puericia uero eius
i. 180 Normanni genuina inquietudine concitati rebellauerunt,[1] et in sua uiscera diu pugnantes nimiam stragem nobilium et uulgarium perpetrauerunt. Nam Gislebertus comes Brionnæ et Osbernus dapifer, Gualchelinus de Ferrariis et Hugo de Monteforti, Rogerius de Hispania et Rodbertus de Grentemasnilio, Turchetillus quoque ducis pedagogus, aliique plures interierunt mutuis ictibus.[2] Guido etiam Rainaldi Burgundionum ducis ex filia
i. 181 Ricardi secundi filius comes a Guillelmo duce constitutus in illum rebellauit, multosque Normannorum qui proni ad prodi-
i. 182 tionem erant promissis sollicitauit, quibus sibi consociatis ducatum auferre duci sategit. Vnde coactus iuuenis dux Pexeium conuolauit, ibique pronus ad pedes Henrici regis corruit, et ab eo contra malefidos proceres et cognatos auxilium petiuit. At ille ut erat clemens, desolato adolescenti compatiens, robur exercitus Francorum exciuit, et in Neustriam duci auxiliaturus perrexit.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini mxxxix Conradus imperator obiit, et Henricus filius eius xvii annis regnauit. Anno iiii imperii eius magna hominum mortalitas facta est.[3]

[4]Anno ab incarnatione Domini mxlvii apud Valesdunas acriter pugnatum est, sed Guido uiolentiam Henrici regis et Guillelmi ducis ferre non ualens uictus est, atque de bello cum suis non sine magno dedecore et detrimento fugere compulsus est. His
i. 183 temporibus Bruno Tullensis episcopus legatione Lotharingorum fungens Romam abiit, et in uia dum quadam nocte oraret angelos cantantes audiuit, 'Dicit Dominus, ego cogito cogitationes pacis et non afflictionis'[5] et cetera. Bruno autem ad papam Damasum perueniens honorifice ab eo susceptus est, et in senatu Romano cardinalis episcopus ordinatus est. Erat enim pulcher et generosus, sapiens et facundus, et multis ornatus uirtutibus. Eodem anno Damasus papa defunctus est, et Bruno in Leonem papam electus est, qui sanctorum scita canonum passim restituere conatus est, quæ iam transactis temporibus supradictorum regum et pontificum nimis deciderant, et pene a notitia hominum

[1] The translation is, 'In his boyhood the Normans, unruly because of their innate turbulence, rebelled.'
[2] Cf. below, iv. 82. [3] *ASE* 1039, 1042.
[4] *ASE*, 1047; cf. below, iv. 84, 351. [5] Cf. Sigebert, p. 359.

defluxerant. Ipse igitur anno domini ml Remis utile concilium tenuit, et de castitate iusticiaque ministrorum Dei tractauit, et salubria decreta quæ iam antistites et presbiteri nesciebant renouauit. Tunc æcclesiam sancti Remigii Remorum archiepiscopi kal. Octobris Herimaro abbate procurante dedicauit, et corpus eiusdem presulis transtulit, cuius solennitas singulis annis primo die Octobris in Francia celeberrime fit.

Sequenti anno Vticense cenobium sancti Ebrulfi a Guillelmo i. 184
Geroii filio et nepotibus suis Hugone de Grentemasnilio et Rodberto fratre eius restauratum est: et uenerabilis Theodericus Gemmeticensis monachus primus abbas effectus est.

[1]His temporibus grauis simultas et belli seminarium inter regem Francorum et ducem Normannorum ortum est. Guillelmus enim de Archis patruus ducis contra eum rebellauit: consilioque Malgerii fratris sui Rotomagensium scilicet archiepiscopi Henricum regem ad sui auxilium inuitauit. Animosus autem dux protinus Archas obsedit, Engelrannum comitem Pontiui contra eum in oppidum intrare uolentem preueniens occidit, et munitione optenta Guillelmum exheredauit,[2] et Malgerium incentorem dissensionum exordinari fecit. Vnde rex Galliæ nimis indignatus infremuit, annoque Domini mliiii in Ebroicensem pagum cum magno exercitu introiuit, et Odonem fratrem suum cum multis militum turmis per Beluacensem pagum trans Sequanam destinauit.[3] Porro dux cum ualida manu regi e latere comitabatur, et Caletorum cateruam sub manu Rodberti Aucensis comitis et Rogerii de Mortuomari contra Odonem premiserat. Protinus illi Gallis occurrentes apud Mortuum mare bellum commiserunt, et magna cede utrinque peracta Franci fugerunt, et Guidone Pontiui comite qui mortem fratris sui i. 185
uenerat ulcisci capto gaudentes Normanni suam uictoriam duci notificauerunt. Audiens autem rex suos terga dedisse Normannis erubuit, subitoque mœstus ad sua remeauit. Deinde post aliquot tempus legitimi pacis procuratores inter discordes dominos discurrerunt, et reddito Guidone cum aliis qui capti fuerant prefati principes federa pepigerunt, subiectæque plebes admodum gauisæ sunt.

[1] Cf. below, iv. 84–6, 351.

[2] The translation is, 'after gaining possession of the castle, he disinherited William'.

[3] Cf. below, iv. 86–8. The remainder of the chronicle repeats in abbreviated form information given elsewhere by Orderic.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini mlx Henricus Francorum rex mortuus est; et Philippus filius eius xlvii annis post eum sceptro Galliæ potitus est. Anno regni eius vi Eduardus Egelredi filius rex Anglorum e uita migrauit; post quem Haraldus Goduini filius Angliæ diadema inuasit. Sequenti anno cometes apparuit. Guillelmus autem dux Normannorum in autumno mare transiuit, commissoque prelio ii idus Octobris Haraldum occidit, regnum optinuit et in die Natalis Domini regale sceptrum sumpsit, annisque xx et viii mensibus tenuit. Sancta ecclesia
i. 186 eius temporibus creuit et magnificata est, et religiosis uiris bonisque rectoribus educata est. Maurilius enim et Iohannes atque Guillelmus metropoli prefuerunt Rotomagensi, Lanfrancus Cantuariensi, et Thomas Eborachensi, aliique religiosi cenobiis et episcopatibus prepositi sunt patres et magistri.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini mlxxxvii Guillelmus rex obiit, et Guillelmus Rufus filius eius xii annis et x mensibus regnauit.

His temporibus mxcv anno Vrbanus papa ingens concilium apud Clarum montem tenuit, et iter in Ierusalem contra paganos inire Christianos commonuit. Siccitas et fames et mortalitas hominum tunc fuerunt.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini mxcix Ierusalem gentilibus
i. 187 uictis qui eam diu tenuerant a sanctis peregrinis capta est. Tunc Vrbanus papa obiit; et Paschalis successit. Sequenti anno Guillelmus Rufus rex Anglorum in uenatione sagitta percussus obiit. Cui Henricus frater eius successit, et xxxv annis ac iiii mensibus regnauit. Hic vii anno regni sui bellum apud Tenerchebraicum fecit, quo Rodbertum fratrem suum ducem Normannorum cepit, et ducatum sibi subiugauit. Tunc Henricus imperator vii idus Augusti obiit, et Karolus Henricus filius eius successit. Deinde tertio anno Philippus rex Francorum mortuus est, et Ludouicus Tedbaldus successit, et xxix annis iam regnauit.[1] Sequenti anno Anselmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus et Hugo Cluniacensis abbas migrauerunt, quos paulo post Guillelmus Rotomagensis archiepiscopus moriendo secutus est. His tribus annis ingens in Gallia fames facta est, et igne sacro cruciante multitudo populi debilitata est.

i. 188 Anno ab incarnatione Domini mcxviii uentus in occiduis partibus uigilia Natalis Domini uehemens fuit, et ædificia plurima nemorumque arbores prostrauit. Sequenti anno bellum

[1] This passage was written in 1136 or 1137.

inter Henricum regem Angliæ et Ludouicum regem Franciæ xiii kal. septembris Brenmulæ factum est, de quo triumphantibus Anglis et Normannis exercitus Gallorum fugatus est. Eodem uero anno Calixtus secundus papa maximam sinodum episcoporum Remis tenuit, et pacificare dissidentes summopere laborauit. Concordia tandem inter reges facta⁊ dum rex Angliæ in regnum suum rediret, Guillelmus et Ricardus filii eius cum magna multitudine nobilium multarum regionum vii kal. Decembris naufragio perierunt.

Anno Domini mcxxiii indictione prima rebellantibus quibusdam Normannis Amalrico Ebroicensi et Gualarico Mellentensi et eorum complicibus, Henricus rex oppida eorum Montefortem, Brionnam et Pontem Aldemari obsedit, combussit et cepit. Post plurima dampna Gualerannus comes cum lxxx militibus bello captus est, et in carcere Henrici regis a quo enutritus fuerat et contra quem insolenter arma leuauerat v annis uinctus est.

Anno Domini mcxxv multorum principum mutatio facta est. i. 189
Karolus Henricus quintus imperator obiit⁊ et Lotharius Saxonum dux in imperio successit. Tunc etiam egregii duces Guillelmus Pictauensis et Guillelmus Apuliensis obierunt. Deinde tercio anno Karolus Flandriæ dux in æcclesia orans ad missam kal. Martii occisus est⁊ eique Guillelmus Rodberti ducis Normannorum filius successit qui sequenti anno apud Alost peremptus est. Tunc Germundus patriarcha Ierosolimitanus atque Goisfredus Rotomagensis archiepiscopus obierunt.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini mcxxx Balduinus ii^dus rex Ierusalem xviii kal. Septembris obiit, cui Fulco Andegauorum comes gener eius successit. Secundo anno Romæ Honorius papa mortuus est, et mox in æcclesia nimium scisma exortum est. Nam a quibusdam noctu Gregorius diaconus Papiæ natus in papam electus est, et Innocentius nominatus est, quem æcclesia in occidentis partibus constituta suscepit et secuta est. Tercia uero die ab aliis Petrus Leonis filius intronizatus est⁊ et Anacletus appellatus est. Hic quia fratribus et cognatis potentibus et amicis admodum stipatus est⁊ iam vii annis urbem Romam et redditus i. 190
ac dominia papæ efficaciter nactus est, ipsumque Apulia cum Sicilia et magno climate mundi secuta est.[1]

Anno ab incarnatione Domini mcxxxvi indiccione xiiii⁊ Henricus rex Anglorum et dux Normannorum, pacis et iusticiæ

[1] This was written in 1137.

strenuus amator, et fidelis Dei cultor, inermis populi protector, æcclesiæque sanctæ feruidus defensor, in castro Leonis kal. Decembris defunctus est; et corpus eius aromatibus conditum in Angliam deuectum est, et Radingis in basilica sanctæ Trinitatis quam ipse monachis construxerat sepultum est. Stephanus autem ex sorore Hadala nepos eius in regno successit, iamque sextum[1] regni annum peragit,[2] in quo graues casus multos dolores et multis detrimenta parientes pertulit. Nam contra consules sibi rebelles Lincoliæ pugnauit et uictus est, captus et in carcere Rodberti Brihstou merens uinctus est.

i. 191 Anno ab incarnatione Domini mcxxxviii Petrus Anacletus subito mortuus est. Lotharius autem imperator dum de subiugata sibi Apulia rediret obiit; eique Conradus Karoli Henrici imperatoris nepos successit. Rogerius uero rex Siciliæ pedetemptim secutus Apuliam intrauit, mortuoque Rannulfo probissimo duce cui papa et augustus contra eum regionem commiserant ablatas sibi urbes fortiter reoptinuit. Innocentium papam qui nuper eum publice anathematizarat, per Rogerum filium suum comprehendit; et pro libitu suo pacem cum illo fecit. Denique ab inuito mestoque papa regnum Siciliæ et ducatum Apuliæ recepit; et absolutus ab illo Rogerium filium suum ducem Apuliæ constituit.[3]

i. 192 Vestigia maiorum prosecutus chronographyam scribere temptaui, iamque in primo æcclesiasticæ hystoriæ libro lineam narrationis ab incarnatione saluatoris inchoaui, et per seriem imperatorum et regum usque in hodiernum diem perduxi, quo Iohannes augustus Alexii filius preest Constantinopoli, Lotharius uero dominatur Alemannis, Ludouicus Francis, Stephanus Anglis, et Remigius exmonachus Hispanis.[4] Nunc autem in secundo auxiliante Deo de sanctis apostolis et apostolicis uiris a priscis doctoribus edita et ab antigraphis scripta considero, et eorum gesta breuiter congerere appeto; prout diuini spiritus michimet intimauerit inspiratio. De pontificibus romanis et eorum in uinea sabaoth cooperatoribus libet seriem diligenter perscrutari, et ueraci stilo sociis id a me poscentibus profari.

[1] 'Sextum' replaces 'secundum', erased.
[2] The entry from this point is added in blacker ink, and was written in 1141.
[3] The remainder of f. 64[v] is left blank.
[4] Although Ramíro II handed over the government of Aragon in 1137 he kept the royal title until his death in 1157 (S. de Vajay, 'Ramire II le Moine', in *Mélanges René Crozet* (Poitiers, 1966), pp. 735–50).

Antistites nempe romani a beatissimo Petro, cui primitus dictum est a domino Iesu Christo: Tibi dabo claues regni cœlorum[1], usque ad Innocentium papam qui preest hodie apostolicæ sedi, cxl computantur. De his omnibus quorum in gestis pontificum inserta est mentio: in sequenti libro aliquid propalare peropto.

Explicit liber primus æcclesiasticæ hystoriæ

[1] Matth. xvi. 19.

Incipit liber secundus

I

i. 193 SALUTIFERAM humano generi uisitationem quando temporis plenitudo uenit, cœlestis gratia ut ante mundi constitutionem preuiderat clementer exhibuit:/ et circa nouissimam seculi horam radiis nouæ lucis tenebrosa mortalium corda illuminauit.[1] Saluator enim noster Iesus Christus, ut altisona sancti uox æuangelii nos ueraciter instruit, quintodecimo imperii Tiberii Cesaris anno in Iordane baptismum a Iohanne suscepit,[2] et tribus semis annis euidentibus signis et prodigiis uerus sol emicuit, suamque deitatem qua patri sanctoque spiritui coæqualis et consubstantialis atque coæternus est mundo demonstrauit. Deinde xxx tercio ætatis suæ anno passionem in cruce hominum pro remedio clementer pertulit, et destructa morte qua genus humanum uinculo iustæ damnationis irretitum quinque milibus annorum tenuerat infernum spoliauit, deuictoque Sathana serpente antiquo uictor a mortuis tercio die resurrexit. Denique xl die postquam suos manifestis ostensionibus suæ resurrectionis
i. 194 ueros testes confirmauit, et cunctis euangelizare gentibus cum signorum executione precepit:/ discipulos foras in Bethaniam eduxit, eisque in monte Oliueti stans benedixit, et intuentibus illis atque gratulantibus in cœlos ascendit. Post decem uero dies ieiunantibus amicis et in unum orantibus spiritum paraclitum misit, eosque ut promiserat unctione interna de omnibus in momento docuit, et omnium abundantia karismatum feliciter illustrauit, contra cunctos aduersantium impetus corroborauit, et inuincibiles athletas omniumque didascalos gentium effecit.

Lucas natione Sirus, arte medicus, Christi fidelis discipulus, spiritus sancti gratia repletus:/ postquam euangelium scripsit grecis fidelibus, insigne uolumen Theophilo adiecit de apostolorum actibus. Theophilus quippe interpretatur Deum diligens,[3]

[1] The translation is, 'When the time was ripe, heavenly grace mercifully showed forth the visitation of salvation for the human race, just as this had been preordained before the creation of the world; and as the last age dawned it illuminated the dark places of men's hearts with the rays of a new light.'

[2] See above, p. 137.

[3] Cf. Bede, *Super acta apostolorum* (Migne, *PL* xcii. 938); Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 7.

quo designatur omnis studiosus et intelligens, et in diuinæ legis meditatione iugi feruens, ad quem sermo Dei iure dirigitur, et a quo idem uiuaciter percipitur, glutinoque dilectionis ueræ tenaciter retinetur. Illi nimirum euangelium id est bonum nuncium merito insinuatur, et inuictorum triumphus apostolorum martyrumque recensetur, quia huiusmodi secretis cœlestibus interesse dignus habetur.

Facundus quoque Arator Romanæ sedis subdiaconus narrationem Lucæ sequi studuit, et inde specialem uersificandi materiam sumpsit, atque Vigilio papæ carmen metrica sonoritate i. 195
pulchrum edidit, in quo nobile sui sediminis monimentum posteritati futuræ reliquit.[1] Tantos talesque preuios intueri nitor, ac ut claudus pedetentim gradiens celerrimos cursores a longe uix insequor. De materia tamen illorum in prima fronte inchoandum michi est: cui de apostolis et eorum beatis commilitonibus fandi uoluntas inest.

'Luculenta Lucas . . . perfudit gratia.' Abbreviates Act. apost. i. 195
ii. 1–41.

'Multa signa . . . crescebat eorum numerus.' Abbreviates Act. i. 195–6
apost. ii. 43–7.

'Petrus cum Iohanne . . . iam uenisse liquido manifestauit.'[2] i. 196
Abbreviates Act. apost. iii. 1–26.

'Loquentibus illis . . . fecistis hoc uos?' Act. apost. iv. 1–7. i. 196–7

'Tunc Petrus . . . admodum placere.' Abbreviates Act. apost. i. 197
iv. 8–22.

'Dimissi ad suos . . . lumen attraxerunt.' Abbreviates Act. i. 198
apost. iv. 23–31.

'Multitudinis credentium . . . opus erat.' Act. apost. iv. 32–36.

Primitus in Ierusalem ordinata sic effulsit concio, cuius tota cœlis semper flagrabat intentio. Hunc conuentum tam iocundum dedicauit diua benedictio: et bonorum inde morum nobis alma manauit institutio.

'Ioseph ab apostolis . . . factus est.' Abbreviates Act. apost. i. 198–9
iv. 37–v. 11.

'Per manus . . . salus proueniebat.' Act. apost. v. 12–16. i. 199

'Princeps sacerdotum . . . decretum seniorum.' Abbreviates i. 199–200
Act. apost. v. 17–29.

'Apostoli ergo . . . interficere illos.' Act. apost. v. 29–33. i. 200

[1] Arator, pp. 3–5.
[2] Le Prévost printed 'monstrauit' for 'manifestauit'.

i. 200–1 'Tunc Gamalihel ... Christum Iesum.' Abbreviates Act. apost. v. 34–42.

i. 201 'In diebus illis ... fidei obsequebatur.' Act. apost. vi. 1–7.

i. 201–2 'Stephanus ... faciem angeli.' Abbreviates Act. apost. vi. 8–15.

i. 202 'Interrogatus a principe ... prophetas persecuti sunt.' Summarizes Act. apost. vii. 1–53.

'Audientes hæc ... obdormiuit in Domino.' Act. apost. vii. 54–60.

'Hoc itaque secundo dominicæ ascensionis anno, vii kal' Ianuarii factum est.'

i. 202–3 'Porro uiri timorati ... in Ierusalem transtulit.' Act. apost. viii. 3; Bede, *Chron.*, p. 300.

i. 203 'Lapidato Stephano ... admirans stupebat.' Abbreviates Act. apost. viii. 1, 4–13.

i. 203–4 'Apostoli autem ... sanctum accipiebant.' Act. apost. viii. 14–15, 17.

i. 204 Hinc æcclesiastica processit institutio, ut post baptisma quod catecuminis per ministerium datur sacerdotis, impositio manus pontificis cum oratione fiat ac unctione chrismatis, et sic integra confirmatio fit per septiformem gratiam sancti spiritus baptizatis.[1]

'Cum uidisset Simon ... Samaritanorum æuangelizabant.' Act. apost. viii. 18–23, 25; 'Simon autem apostoli dicta paruipendens recessit, et apostata factus innumeris sceleribus iram Domini diu exacerbauit', replaces viii. 24.

i. 204–5 'Angelo Dei ... cunctis æuangelizauit.' Abbreviates Act. apost. viii. 26–40.

i. 205–6 'Saulus adhuc ... emulator existeret.' Abbreviates Act. apost. ix. 1–20; cf. Arator, i. 717–18.

i. 206 'Saulus multo ... multitudo augebatur.' Cites and abbreviates Act. apost. ix. 21–31.

i. 206–7 'Petrus apostolus ... crediderunt in Domino.' Abbreviates Act. apost. ix. 32–43.

i. 207–8 'Cornelius in Cesarea ... in cœlum receptum est.' Abbreviates Act. apost. x. 1–16.

i. 208 'Hac nimirum ... pie obtemperauit.' Abbreviates Act. apost. x. 17–33; cf. Arator, i. 903–10.

i. 208–9 'Aperiens enim ... cum eo crediderant.' Cites Act. apost. x. 34–6; abbreviates x. 37–48.

[1] Cf. Bede, *Super acta apostolorum* (Migne, *PL* xcii. 961).

'Idem postquam . . . Christiani cognominati sunt.' Abbreviates Act. apost. xi. 1–26; cf. Bede, *Chron.*, p. 283. i. 209–10

'Tunc Agabus . . . Ierosolimis destinantur.' Paraphrases Act. apost. xi. 27–30. i. 210

'Interea Tiberius . . . ueniebant.' Eusebius, *HE* II. ii–iii, citing Tertullian; cf. Bede, *Chron.*, p. 283. i. 210–11

'Defuncto Tiberio . . . hystoriographus scribit.' Eusebius, *HE* II. iv. 1, citing Josephus; cf. Bede, *Chron.*, p. 283. i. 211–12

'Tunc Philo . . . sermone scripsit.' Eusebius, *HE* II. iv–vii; Bede, *Chron.*, pp. 282–3. i. 212–13

'Interempto Gaio . . . aliquos de æcclesia.' Eusebius, *HE* II. vii–ix; Bede, *Chron.*, p. 283; Act. apost. xii. 1. i. 213

Tunc Iacobus Zebedei filius, Domini nostri Iesu Christi apostolus, omnem Iudeam et Samariam uisitabat, et multa signa in Christi uirtute faciebat. In sinagogis contra incredulos disputabat, sanctasque scripturas explanabat' ostendens omnia quæ a prophetis sunt predicta, in Domino Iesu Christo esse completa.

'Hermogenes magus . . . discipuli fierent.' Abbreviates Pseudo-Abdias, iv. 2. i. 213–14

'Hermogenes igitur . . . ad apostolorum perduxerunt.' Abbreviates Pseudo-Abdias, iv. 3. i. 214

'Beatus uero . . . suis et facinoribus.' Abbreviates Pseudo-Abdias, iv. 4. i. 214–15

'Iudei autem . . . fideliter adheserunt.' Abbreviates Pseudo-Abdias, iv. 5–7. i. 215

'Post aliquot . . . Emmanuhel largitus est.' Abbreviates Pseudo-Abdias, iv. 8–9. i. 215–16

Consummato itaque beati Iacobi apostoli fratris egregii Iohannis euangelistæ martirio, quod viii kal. Augusti festiue celebrat æcclesiæ deuotio, septem discipuli eius qui ab eo in uera fide instituti passioni eius interfuerunt, corpus illius diuinitus edocti uetustæ naui imposuerunt, altoque pelago sine gubernatore necessariisque instrumentis se dispensante Deo commiserunt. Sic miro modo in Hispaniam appulsi sunt' et a rege Galliciæ suscepti primum fidem et religionem Hiberis predicauerunt, ibique uenerabilem sepulturam magistro suo adepti sunt.[1] Multa i. 216

[1] The tradition that St. James the Greater had preached in Spain gained credence only from the sixth century onwards. It was recorded in the *Breviarium apostolorum* and copied into other documents, including an interpolated recension

ibidem miracula meritis sancti Iacobi apostoli facta sunt: et habitatores totius prouinciæ iamdudum Christi fidem susce-
i. 217 perunt. In sede pontificali canonicales asseclæ preciosissimum corpus apostoli ueneranter custodiunt: et illuc fideles christicolæ de cunctis climatibus orbis concurrunt, ac ad exorandum clementem Adonai per apostolicos interuentus conueniunt.

i. 217–18 'Herodes rex . . . liberatori gratias egit.' Adapts and summarizes Act. apost. xii. 2–11.

i. 218 'Ad fratres . . . nimium iratus est.' Abbreviates Act. apost. xii. 12–22.

'Regis uero facinus . . . dies expirauit.' Eusebius, *HE* II. x, citing Josephus; Act. apost. xii. 23.

i. 219 Agrippa uero filius eius xxvi annis id est usque ad exterminium Iudeorum regnauit, et pacem cum Romanis et Christianis habuit.[1]

'Verbum Domini . . . ad Paphum perambulauerunt.' Act. apost. xii. 24–xiii. 7.

i. 219–20 'Ibi Sergius Paulus . . . perfecte asseruit.' Summarizes Act. apost. xiii. 7–43; adding 'nomine Pauli, quem de gentibus primum fide deuicit, ut Scipio Africanus a deuicta Africa cognominatus est appellari meruit.'

i. 220 'Sequenti sabbato . . . ciuitas commota est.' Abbreviates Act. apost. xiii. 44–xiv. 6.

i. 220–1 'Listris quidam . . . Antiochiam nauigauerunt.' Abbreviates Act. apost. xiv. 7–27.

i. 221–2 'Ibi diu . . . et fornicatione.' Abbreviates Act. apost. xv. 1–29.

i. 222–3 'Paulus igitur . . . precibus coegit.' Abbreviates Act. apost. xv. 32–xvi. 15.

i. 223–4 'Paulo ad orationem . . . instanter predicauit.' Abbreviates Act. apost. xvi. 16–xvii. 32.

i. 224–5 'Tunc Dionisius . . . discipulos confirmauit.' Abbreviates Act. apost. xvii. 34–xviii. 23.

2

i. 225 'Huc usque michi de primitiua æcclesia summatim excerpsi: de his uidelicet quæ Lucas in actibus apostolorum edidit, usque

of Isidore's *De obitu patrum* (*Historisches Jahrbuch*, lxxvii (1958), 467–72; 'Santiago de Compostela', in *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, xii. 1070–1). By the ninth century it was widely believed that St. James was buried at Compostela.

[1] Bede, *Chron.*, p. 283.

ad narrationem quomodo Paulus Ephesi ... in nomine Iesu Christi fecerit.' Summarizes Act. apost. xix. 1–13.

Amodo libet alios codices perlustrare, et de eisdem apostolis i. 226
michi quædam breuiter commemorare, quæ in autenticis libris et in æcclesia frequentatis potero reperire.

Ordinem apostolorum et meritum uniuscuiusque solus omnium conditor nouit: et is qui cordis humani archana rimatur retributionem laborum singulis distribuit. Apostoli namque missi interpretantur. Ipsos enim misit Christus euangelizare per uniuersum mundum, ut sicut piscatores de pelago retibus extrahunt turbam piscium: sic illi perditos homines predicatione sancta pertraherent ad lumen uitæ de profunditate uitiorum. Nomina autem ipsorum hæc sunt, Simon Petrus et Andreas frater eius, Iacobus Zebedei et Iohannes frater eius, Iacobus Alphei et Phylippus, Thomas et Bartholomeus, Leui Matheus et Simon Chananeus, Iudas Taddeus et Mathias.[1]

Primus uocatione maximus dignitate, apostolici culminis sedem Petrus clauiger assecutus est: qui Christo ardenter obsequens toto corde secutus est. Hic patre Iona uel Iohanne genitus, uico Bethsaida prouinciæ Galileæ qui iuxta stagnum Genesareth est ortus: ad declarandam dignitatem futuram et potestatem qua sullimatus splendescit, trinomius fuit, indicioque trium uocabulorum multiplex uirtus ei celitus data claruit. Simon etenim obœdiens, Petrus uero agnoscens, Cephas autem caput interpretatur.[2] Simon itaque per obœdientiam qua mox ut preceptum
Domini audiuit: relictis omnibus ipsum sequi usque ad mortem i. 227
expeditus studuit, ad ineffabilis cognitionem deitatis conscendit. Et quia celitus inspiratus supra humanum intellectum diuinæ theoriæ ardenter inhiauit, et altisonam uocem gloriosæ confessionis fideliter deprompsit: dicens 'Tu es Christus filius Dei uiui', ipso incomparabiliter recompensante Christo meruit honorari, et æcclesiæ caput ac fundamentum ordinari. Largus enim retributor qui notitiam sui diuinitus inspirauerat: puri cordis fidem prolatam per oris confessionem principali auctoritate remunerat, 'Beatus es' inquit 'Simon Bariona, quia caro et sanguis non reuelauit tibi, sed Pater meus qui est in cœlis'.[3]

Vere beatus est Simon id est obœdiens, qui Bariona id est

[1] Cf. Act. apost. i. 13, 26.
[2] Isidore, *Etym.* VII. ix. 2; Jerome, *De nom. heb.*, pp. 141, 148.
[3] Matthew xvi. 16–17.

filius columbæ dicitur, qua spiritus sanctus designatur.[1] 'Vir obediens' ut ait Salomon 'loquitur uictorias';[2] quia dum iussiones incessanter obseruat diuinas, in cotidianis conflictibus per temptationes impugnatur uarias, ipsoque in mandatis Dei perseuerante superatur Sathanas. Quid enim aliud diuina lex imperat uel docet, nisi ut omnis homo creatori suo militet, cum antiquo serpente qui nobis semper insidiatur dimicet, et brauium supernæ uocationis optinere insudet? Tunc fortis Dei agonista procul dubio loquitur uictorias, dum prostrato inimico protectori suo celebrat Deo gratias; dicens cum propheta, 'Præcinxisti me uirtute ad bellum, et supplantasti insurgentes in me subtus me,'[3] et alia multa his similia. Nemo potest sanctis operibus
i. 228 letificare Deum patrem, nisi per gratiam sancti spiritus obœdientiæ adeptus fuerit uirtutem.

Deinde saluator remunerationem piæ confessionis magnifice consummans ait Simoni, 'Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo æcclesiam meam, et portæ inferi non preualebunt aduersus eam'.[4] Petrus latine, Cephas siriace, quod nomen in utraque lingua a petra diriuatum est; a Christo uidelicet qui firma petra est, supra quem æcclesia fundata est. Sic nimirum Simon per obœdientiam ad agnitionem filii Dei peruenit; quam non caro et sanguis sed pater cœlestis ei reuelauit, ideoque ab ipso saluatore Petrus id est agnoscens cognominari meruit. Denique datis ei cœlestis regni clauibus, Cephas id est caput[5] æcclesiæ ab ipso rege sabaoth est constitutus, apostolorum scilicet princeps et pontifex summus, potestate ligandi atque soluendi preditus, doctrina et sanctitate precipuus, signis et miraculis preclarus, in æcclesia ouibus Christi pastor primus, et specialis prefuit uicarius.

Hic vii annis in circumcisione predicauit, et specialia eius opera quæ tunc fecerit; Lucas in Actibus apostolorum ut superius notaui ostendit. Quadragenarium enim ad speciosam templi portam claudum erexit, et quinque milia Iudeorum qui conuersi fuerant baptizauit. Ananiam et uxorem eius Saphiram fraudis et mendacii reos censorio iussu puniit, et sic presentes atque futuros ut salubriter castigarentur terruit. Ægrotorum turbam in lectulis per plateas transiens umbra tangebat; meritis et potestate sibi celitus impertita sanabat.

[1] Isidore, *Etym.* VII. ix. 2–6. [2] Proverbs xxi. 28.
[3] Psalms xxvii. 40. [4] Matthew xvi. 18. [5] Isidore, *Etym.* VII. ix. 3.

Eneam paraliticum iam octo annis in grabato iacentem Liddæ in nomine Domini curauit, et nouitatem miraculi uidentes ac admirantes ad fidem perduxit. Ioppe uero Tabitam uenerabilem uiduam a morte resuscitauit, eamque sanctis ac uiduis uiuam assignauit. Reliqua autem quæ idem a Iudea usque in Antiochiam perpetrauit, et quam strenue Simonem magum persecutus multoties disputando superauit, Clemens Romanus Faustiniani filius in libris Recognitionum enucleauit, unde idem opus itinerarium Petri nominauit.[1] Ipse enim relictis omnibus quæ Romæ habebat nauigio Palestinam petiit, Cesareæque Stratonis Petrum apostolum Barnaba quem Romæ optimum hospitem et amicum benigniter fouerat indice inuenit,[2] et ab eo ut a patre filius pro amborum beneuolentia dulciter susceptus, in fide ueri prophetæ sollerter instructus, et sacro fonte renatus inseparabiliter ei est copulatus. i. 229

'Cesareæ Petrus ... languentes sanauit.' Cf. *Recognitiones*, ii. 1–69, 70.

'In crastinum ... consecuti discesserunt.' Cf. *Recognitiones*, iii. 1–29, 30.

'Tertia uero die ... aufugit.' *Recognitiones*, iii. 39, 49. i. 229–30

'Petrus autem ... persequeretur.' *Recognitiones*, iii. 67, 68, 72. i. 230

'Completis ... constituit.' *Recognitiones*, iv. 1, 2, 6, 7; vi. 15. i. 230–1

'Inde Antaradum ... remuneratione dedit.' *Recognitiones*, vii. 1, 2, 4–24. i. 231

'Deinde Petrus ... studiis tradidit.' *Recognitiones*, vii. 25, 28–30, 32. i. 231–2

'Cumque Petrus ... instruxerunt.' *Recognitiones*, viii. 1, 2; ix. 35. i. 232

'Primo die ... facta est.' *Recognitiones*, viii. 5, 6; general reference to viii. 41–56; ix. 1–15, 34–5. i. 232–3

'Primarius ... curata est.' *Recognitiones*, ix. 38. i. 233

'His diebus ... baptizati sunt.' *Recognitiones*, x. 52–60, 61, 69, 70, 71.

'Theophilus autem ... Iesu exultauit.' *Recognitiones*, x. 72. i. 233–4

Beatus itaque Petrus apostolus primum annis vii in Antiochia sedit, et Ponto, Galaciæ, Cappadociæ, Asiæ et Bithiniæ predi- i. 234

[1] *Recognitiones*, i. 7, 12.

[2] The translation is, 'He [Clement], abandoning all he had in Rome, set sail for Palestine, and at Caesarea found the apostle Peter, who was pointed out to him by Barnabas, whom he [Clement] had entertained most hospitably and cherished as a friend in Rome.'

cauit.[1] Deinde Romam Simone mago petente Petrus Antiochenam æcclesiam ordinauit, et Euodium episcopum ibi pro se consecrauit. Denique Romam cum pluribus electis discipulis perrexit, et ingressus urbem tempore Claudii Cesaris[2] prefatum prestigatorem pluribus phantasiis per demonicam uirtutem quam paredrum uocant populum decipientem inuenit, in tantam insolentiam elatum ut deum se esse gloriaretur, et a Romanis ciuibus honore simulachri in flumine Tiberis inter duos pontes collocati tanquam deus potiretur. Hunc nimirum Sathanas tam uesanum totius malignitatis incentorem penitus possedit, atque
i. 235 ad debellandam æcclesiæ rectam fidem nefaria heresi primum armauit. Porro contra illum omnipotens Emmanuhel insignem militiæ suæ magistrum comminus dimicare preparauit, Simonem Petrum dico cui Christus claues regni cœlestis tradidit, et apostolorum principem æcclesiæque probum rectorem constituit. Hic itaque Romam ueniens splendore ueritatis et iusticiæ tenebras falsitatis discussit, ibique dignus censor iuste iudicans xxv annos, duos menses, dies tres sedit.

[3]Cumque clarum uerbi Dei lumen Romanæ urbi fulsisset, et sermo ueritatis qui per Petrum predicabatur omnium mentes auditorum illustrasset, eisque in tantum placuisset, ut cotidie audientibus auditio sola non sufficeret, Marcus apostoli discipulus innumeris et cotidianis precibus coactus æuangelium scripsit, et quæ ille uerbo predicabat hic scripto congessit, ac ad perpetuam legentium commonitionem posteritati transmisit. Petrus uero ut per spiritum sanctum religioso se spoliatum furto comperit, delectatus est fidem eorum per hæc deuotionemque considerans factum confirmauit, et in perpetuum legendam æcclesiis
i. 236 scripturam tradidit, epistolas quoque duas quæ canonice appellantur. Hic temporibus Tiberii Cesaris, Gaii Caligolæ, Claudii et Neronis[4] in uinea Christi uiriliter laborauit, egregiosque discipulos educauit, uirtutibus et eruditione imbutos per diuersa loca destinauit, Marcum uidelicet filiolum discipulumque suum Aquileiæ, postmodum Alexandriæ, Marcialem Lemouicæ, Appolinarem Rauennæ, Valerium Treueris,[5] et alios plures qui

[1] Cf. Jerome, *De vir. ill.* 1.
[2] Bede, *Chron.*, p. 283.
[3] Eusebius, *HE* II. xv. 1–2.
[4] Bede, *Chron.*, p. 283.
[5] Orderic accepted a number of legends which pushed back the dates of the earliest bishops and apostles in Gaul and Italy to the first century. Most of these legends appeared in the sixth or seventh centuries; some were based on lists of bishops which included authentic names but no early dates. In fact most of the

diuersis in locis multa in nomine Christi miracula fecerunt, et plures maximosque cœtus gentilium ad fidei lumen pertraxerunt, atque sacri baptismatis unda regeneratos in sinu piæ matris æcclesiæ collocauerunt.

'Quondam Romæ . . . recuperauit.' Cites *Acta SS. Nerei et Achillei* (*AA SS* May iii. 10; Mombritius, ii. 366).[1] i. 236–7

3

Insignis athleta cunctipotentis Adonai Paulus uas electionis, doctor gentium et predicator ueritatis, qui thronum inter apostolos meruit duodecimum possidere, et in paradiso raptus archana uerba quæ non licet homini loqui audire, uere digne est glorificandus, et a filiis æcclesiæ ueluti sollers pedagogus iugiter honorandus. Hic Saulus id est temptatio hebraice dictus est, eo quod in temptatione sanctæ matris æcclesiæ prius uersatus est.[2] Postea mutato nomine de Saulo Paulus id est mirabilis dictus est, miroque modo de rapaci lupo mitis agnus factus est. Latine autem Paulus quasi paruus dictus est, unde ipse palam de se testatus est, 'Ego sum minimus apostolorum'.[3] i. 237

Ortus est de tribu Beniamin ex Phariseis Phariseus, Tharso Ciliciæ natus, Ierusolimis a puericia nutritus, et in lege Dei a Gamaliele eruditus.[4] Hic secundo post ascensionem Domini anno, dum plus iusto paternarum traditionum æmulator existeret, ideoque in Christianos admodum sæuiret, et cum principis sacerdotum epistolis in Damascum iret, ut omnes ibi Christicolas trucidaret, appropinquans urbi subito insolita luce circumdatus, atque celesti uoce Domini Iesu ex insperato correptus, salubriter ad terram corruit, amissaque pristina feritate surrexit, et in Damascum a comitibus itineris perductus tribus ibi diebus impos sui deguit. Deinde iubente Deo post tres ab Anania dies uisitatus fidem quam impugnauerat suscepit,[5] et baptizatus eandem Iudeis et gentibus audacter predicauit, incipiensque ab Ierusalem i. 238

first bishops lived in the third century or later. Apollinaris was the first bishop and martyr of Ravenna (*c.* 200), and Valerius probably the second bishop of Trèves (F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, articles on 'Ravenne' (xiv. 2072) and 'Trèves' (v. 2725–8); L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaul* (3 vols., Paris, 1894–1915), iii. 30–2).

[1] One page is left blank here.
[2] Isidore, *Etym.* VII. ix. 7–9.
[3] 1 Corinthians xv. 9.
[4] Cf. Jerome, *De vir. ill.* 5; *Brev. apost.* ii. 9.
[5] Based on Act. apost. ix. 1–18.

usque ad Illiricum et Italiam Hispaniasque processit, ac nomen Christi multarum populis gentium quibus non fuerat declaratum manifestauit.

Lucas eùangelista Pauli comes et laborum particeps, de ipso usque in finem diligenter digneque locutus est:' et eius precipue gesta omissis aliis subtiliter prosecutus est. Arator quoque sanctæ romanæ æcclesiæ subdiaconus secundum inde librum edidit, heroicoque metro apostolorum actus deuote cecinit, et Pauli agones et tolerantiam naufragiumque retulit.[1] Quædam factorum
i. 239 eius inde breuiter excerpta in precedentibus annotaui:' quorum hic non me tedet iterum ad laudem creatoris reminisci.

'Saulus qui et Paulus . . . ad fidem conuertit.' Based on Act. apost. xiii. 6–12.

'Antiochiæ sinagogam . . . locutionem fecit.' Based on Act. apost. xiii. 13–41.

'Alio quoque sabbato passionem Christi et resurrectionem commemorauit, propheticis assertionibus allegauit:' et plurimis credentibus æcclesiæ gregem augmentauit. Listris claudum ex utero matris . . . suffocato et fornicatione.' Summarizes Act. apost. xiv. 7–17, xv. 1–21.

i. 239–40 'Philippis a puella . . . abire permissi sunt.' Based on Act. apost. xvi. 16–40.

i. 240 'Paulus Athenis . . . martirio coronatus est.' Abbreviates Act. apost. xvii. 15–34.

'Inde Paulus . . . conuersi sunt.' Abbreviates Act. apost. xviii. 1–17.

i. 240–1 'Ephesi duodecim . . . in Asia remansit.' Abbreviates Act. apost. xix. 1–7, 11–22.

i. 241 'Demetrius argentarius . . . nichil preualuit.' Abbreviates Act. apost. xix. 23–40.

i. 241–2 'Paulus, accitis . . . gaudentibus reuixit.' Abbreviates Act. apost. xx. 1–12.

i. 242 'A Mileto . . . prophetantes intrauit.' Abbreviates Act. apost. xx. 17–xxi. 9.

i. 242–3 'Tunc Agabus . . . Domini Iesu" '. Act. apost. xxi. 10–14.

i. 243 'Fretus itaque . . . omnes lucrifaceret.' Abbreviates Act. apost. xxi. 17–20; paraphrases xxi. 21–6.

i. 243–4 'Iudei autem qui . . . eum ligasset.' Abbreviates Act. apost. xxi. 27–xxii. 29.

[1] Arator, Book II.

'Postera die . . . in castra induxit.' Slightly abbreviates Act. apost. xxii. 30–xxiii. 10. i. 244–5

'Sequenti nocte . . . in uinculis reliquit.' Abbreviates Act. apost. xxiii. 11–xxiv. 27. i. 245–6

'Non multo post . . . appellasset Cesarem." ' Summarizes Act. apost. xxv. 1–xxvi. 32. i. 246

'Igitur Iulio . . . qui nauigant tecum." ' Summarizes Act. apost. xxvii. 1–44. i. 246–7

'Post naufragium . . . mali pertulit.' Abbreviates Act. apost. xxviii. 1–6. i. 247

'Publius princeps . . . prohibitione docuit.' Abbreviates Act. apost. xxviii. 7–31. i. 247–8

Huc usque secutus sum de actibus apostolorum narrationem sancti Lucæ æuangelistæ, qui dimissis aliis refert Paulum Romam uenisse, ibique biennio uerbum Dei nemine prohibente predicasse. Secundo quippe Neronis anno Romam introiuit, et apud eundem cum adhuc in iniciis lenior esset sese defendit, Deoque confortante de ore Neronis quem tropice leonem nominat liberatus inde exiit,[1] et ad occiduas gentes usque in Narbonam Galliæ urbem perrexit.[2] Ibi nimirum ut fertur basilicam construxit, et in honorem Machabeorum martirum dedicauit, ubi adhuc apparet in materia de oleo crucis signum quod idem apostolus pollice caraxauit. Deinde Paulum discipulum suum pontificem ordinauit, et eidem urbi destinauit, qui multum in bonis operibus laborans beato fine uitam consummauit. i. 248

Sic et alii plures in æcclesia Dei mire fulserunt, qui per beatum doctorem gentium in fide katholica instituti sunt, et in kathedra magistrali ad regendum populum Dei per diuersa loca prudenter dispositi sunt. Nam Lucas Bithiniæ, Titus Cretæ, Carpus Troadæ, Timotheus et Archippus in Asia, Trophimus Arelati, Onesimus Ephesi, Sostenes Chorinthi, Titicus Paphi, Dionisius Ariopagita Athenis, Epaphras Colosis, et Herastus Philippis rete fidei expanderunt, ethnicosque cœtus de tenebris ignorantiæ ueluti pisces de profundo pelagi ad lumen ueritatis pertraxerunt. i. 249

[1] Eusebius, *HE* II. xx. 1–4.

[2] Narbonne was founded by a different Paul in the third century; his name occurs first in an early episcopal list, and he was described by Gregory of Tours as one of the seven bishops who organized the episcopate in Gaul in the middle of the third century ('Narbonne', in Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, xii. 818–19, 827; L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux*, i. 291–2).

Iustitiæ quoque semitam sicut alios docuerunt; sic in uerbis et actionibus suis tenuerunt. Nomina ergo eorum in libro uitæ adscripta sunt; et sapientiam eorum atque laudem omnes populi pronunciabunt.

Amodo dignum est, ut de triumphali morte sanctorum loquar, et seriem narrationis ex patrum documentis ueraciter prosequar, qualiter gloriosi principes terræ uexillum ueri Iosue nobiliter ferentes repromissionis terram optinuerunt, et quomodo in uita sua sese dilexerunt, ita et in morte separati non sunt; sed uno
i. 250 spiritu ardentes contra Neronem Cesarem et Simonem magum Romæ certauerunt, unoque die hoste deuicto cœlestia regna petierunt.

i. 250–2 'Marcellus igitur . . . ad æcclesias orientales scripsit.' *Acta SS. Nerei et Achillei*, *AA SS* May iii. 9–10.

i. 252–3 Inde, sicut olim cepi quædam michi libet excerpere, et intermissa uerborum copiosa prolixitate gestarum compendiosam seriem rerum congerere.

Audito quod Paulus Romam uenisset, Petrus ualde gauisus est; et statim exurgens ad eum perrexit. Mutuo autem se uidentes pre gaudio fleuerunt, et in amplexibus suis diutissime morati inuicem se lacrimis infuderunt. Deinde tantis uerbi Dei predicatoribus pars maxima populorum credidit, nec eis uesana concio Iudeorum uel gentium palam resistere potuit, quibus abundantiam totius sapientiæ spiritus almus affluenter infudit.

'Innumerabiles populi . . . amore studerent.' *Passio* (Marcellus), x.

i. 253–4 'Paulus quoque . . . Iesum Christum credebant.' and 'Ingens itaque diabolo . . . non mediocriter sentiebat.' *Passio S. Pauli*, i.

'Plures enim ex cubiculo . . . ac honoribus preponerent.' Based on *Passio* (Marcellus), x.

i. 254–5 'Igitur dum sic . . . Dei filium arbitrabatur.' Abbreviates *Passio* (Marcellus), x–xiv.

i. 255–6 'Tunc seductore mago . . . angelos monstrauit.' Greatly abbreviates *Passio* (Marcellus), xv–xvi, xxiii–xxvii.

i. 256–8 'Tandem Simone . . . Paulino traditi sunt.' Abbreviates *Passio* (Marcellus), li, liv–lix.

i. 258 'Paulinus . . . ad portam peruenerunt.' Abbreviates *Acta SS Processi et Martiniani*, *AA SS* July i. 303–4.

i. 258–9 Tunc Paulus in urbe Roma notos et amicos adiit, et Romanos aliosque credentes qui eius ereptione admodum gratulabantur in

fide confortauit, solitoque ritu uerbum Dei ubertim sparsit, fideliumque numerum per aliquot dies opitulante Deo augmentauit.

'Porro beatus ... domum patris mei." ' Conflates *Acta SS Processi et Martiniani* (*AA SS* July i. 304); *Martyrium Petri*, vi; *Passio* (Marcellus), lxi.

'Cumque rediret mane ... datos testati sunt.' *Passio* (Marcellus), lx–lxiii; cf. *Martyrium Petri*, xv. i. 259–60

Nunc de doctore gentium qualiter bonum certamen certauerit, cursumque consummauerit, brauiumque supernæ uocationis optinuerit,[1] libet ex hystoria passionis eius breuiter excerpere, et hic ad laudem ineffabilis Adonay ueraciter inserere. i. 260

'Paulus postquam de carcere ... in fugam uersi sunt.' Abbreviates *Passio S. Pauli*, i–xix. i. 260–7

Verum illis pie supplicantibus steterunt, et fidem eorum audientes cum gaudio spirituali eos baptizauerunt. i. 267

In illo tempore magna persecutio Christianorum intonuit, et prima sequentibus eximium uirtutis exemplum et constantiæ præbuit. In Tuscia Torpes magnus in officio Neronis post plurima tormenta decollatus est. Romæ Processus et Martinianus et xlvi socii eorum a beato Petro apostolo baptizati sunt. Longinus quoque aliique duo per Paulum conuersi sunt: et a Tito ac Luca salutare lauachrum perceperunt. Hi nimirum doctores suos fide et martirio pedetentim secuti sunt. Mediolani Nazarius, Geruasius, Protasius et Celsus puer passi sunt.

'Nero itaque ... deuoratus esset.' *Passio* (Marcellus), lxv. i. 267–8

Ecce quæ sparsim de summis senatoribus æcclesiæ rimatus sum simplici breuitate collegi, et de plurimis uoluminibus insignia gesta memoriæ posterorum ueraci stilo congessi. Petrus siquidem in circumcisione vii annis predicauit, deinde apud Antiochiam vii annis sedit. Sub Claudio Cesare contra Simonem magum pugnaturus Romam perrexit, ibique xxv annis euangelium predicauit, et eiusdem urbis pontificatum primus tenuit. Tricesimo autem et sexto anno post passionem Christi iii kal. Iulii crucifixus est: uiaque Aurelia iuxta palacium Neronis in Vaticano sepultus est. Eodem die Paulus postquam innumeros agones atque labores insigniter passus est: in uia Hostiensi in miliario secundo in ortis ad Aquas Saluias decollatus est.[2] Hi simul i. 268

[1] 2 Timothy, iv. 7–8.
[2] Cf. *LP* i. 118, and above, p. 59; Jerome, *De vir. ill.* 5.

Romæ passi sunt sub Nerone Cesare Basso et Tusco consulibus/ quorum prior in eadem urbe iuxta uiam triumphalem totius urbis ueneratione celebratur, sequens uero in uia Ostiensi pari honore habetur.

i. 269 Roma caput mundi tam sullimes patronos se habere gloriatur, ad quorum limina de cunctis mundi partibus fidelis populus properare conatur, ut tam potentibus aduocatis adiutus contra omnes aduersarios aduersasque potestates indesinenter protegatur. Vniuersi presto sentiunt eorum subsidia qui deuotione congrua poscunt eorum suffragia, prestante Deo rege summo qui trinus et unus uiuit et regnat per omnia seculorum secula. Amen.

4

Andreas frater Simonis Petri secundum hebraicam ethimologiam decorus uel respondens interpretatur/ sermone autem greco 'apo tu andros' id est 'a uiro uirilis' dicitur.[1] Hic in sorte predicationis Scithiam et Achaiam accepit, in qua etiam in ciuitate Patras ii kal. Decembris in cruce suspensus occubuit. Egregius de uirtutibus eius apud nos libellus habetur, in quo multa et mira de beato Andrea referuntur. Auctor quidem libri cognitus michi non est/ sed mirandarum relatio rerum merito
i. 270 ut arbitror gratissima est.[2] Libet ergo ad laudem cunctipotentis Messyæ quædam inde breuiter excerpere, et huic opusculo nostro inserere.

i. 270–4 'Igitur cum Mattæus . . . naucleris in Deum credidit.' Abbreviates Pseudo-Abdias, iii. 2–10.

i. 274–7 'Exous nobilis . . . super infirmos faciebat.' Abbreviates Pseudo-Abdias, iii. 12–17.

i. 277–81 'Virinus ergo proconsul . . . Trofima pacificare petiuit.' Abbreviates Pseudo-Abdias, iii. 19–27.

i. 281–5 'Lisbius itaque proconsul . . . hominem Deo carum."' Abbreviates Pseudo-Abdias, iii. 28–41; for Andrew's salutation of the cross cites *Passio beati Andreæ apostoli* (Mombritius, i. 106–7; cf. *Brev. Sar.*, iii. 8–10, 21–2).

[1] Isidore, *Etym.* VII. ix. 11.

[2] Orderic used a collection of apocryphal lives of the apostles now known as the Pseudo-Abdias; but Abdias, bishop of Babylon, was not named until Book VI, which contains the lives of Simon and Thaddeus. The collection originated probably in the second half of the sixth century ('Abdias', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, ed. Baudrillart *et alii*, Paris, 1909 ff. i. 63).

'Hæc et multa alia . . . opulentia ministratur.' Based on Pseudo- i. 285–6
Abdias, iii. 42; *Passio sancti Andreæ* (Mombritius, i. 106–7).

Ecce solo tui coactus amore gloriose apostole Iesu Christi, i. 286
cursum tuæ uitæ diuinis karismatibus feliciter ornatæ breuiter recensui:/ ad laudem tui cunctipotentis magistri, cui tu fideliter usque ad mortem adhesisti. Deuotum ergo famulatum mitis Andrea benigniter suscipe, meque peccatorem piis precibus commenda Creatoris clementiæ, in cuius cultu inter læta et tristia ipso iuuante opto persistere. Et qui crudelem Egeam interfectorem tuum exhortatus es ad fidem pendens in cruce, indesinenter suffragare fidelibus filiis æcclesiæ, qui tibi dicunt canentes cum summa cordis deuotione, et oris modulatione, Andrea pie sanctorum mitissime, optine nostris erratibus ueniam, et qui grauamur sarcina peccaminum, sulleua tuis intercessionibus.[1] Inter ærumnas titubantis seculi sæpe quassamur, gemimusque languidi. Ora pro nobis maiestatem Domini:/ i. 287
ut donet nobis uera luce perfrui. Amen.

5

Iacobus et Iohannes filii Zebedei, a Christo appellati sunt Boanerges siue ut melius legitur Boanereem, id est filii tonitrui, ex firmitate et magnitudine fidei,[2] qua tenuerunt inuiolabiliter et docuerunt immaculatam legem Domini. Iacobus supplantator interpretatur, Iohannes uero Dei gratia uel in quo est gratia. Merito electi fratres tam claris nominibus uocitati sunt:/ qui per supplantationem uitiorum in stadio fragilis uitæ tortuosum serpentem insigniter uicerunt, et amici Dei speciales effecti sunt:/ multiplicique illius gratia repleti sanctam matrem æcclesiam ueritatis doctrina illustrauerunt. De beato Iacobo qualiter in Iudea et Samaria euuangelizauerit, et ab Herode Aristoboli filio martirium principibus sacerdotum et phariseis accusantibus pertulerit:/ sicut ab antiquis scriptoribus editum repperi, simpliciter in precedenti libro adbreuiatum huic opusculo inserui.[3] Nunc de Iohanne theologo Iesu Christi amico, scripta inuestigo et ea breuiter ad laudem regis Sabaoth colligere desi- i. 288
dero, quæ Mellitus scripsit Laodicenis,[4] aliisque fidelibus qui

[1] *AS hymn.*, p. 126; *Brev. Sar.* iii. 2.
[2] Isidore, *Etym.* VII. ix. 13–14. [3] Above, p. 167.
[4] An apocryphal life, wrongly attributed to Mellitus, bishop of Laodicaea.

sunt in uniuerso mundo, aliique illustres antiquarii promulgarunt de illo, precipueque Ieronimus diuinæ legis interpres prenotauit in Apocalipsis prœmio.[1]

i. 288–9 'Iohannes apostolus . . . retributiones meritorum.' Cf. Pseudo-Abdias, v. 1, 2; *Brev. Sar.* iii. 283.

i. 289–90 'Denique procurante Deo . . . Dominus Iesus Christus" '. Pseudo-Mellitus (Florentinus, p. 130).

i. 290–8 'Eodem tempore duo fratres . . . Iesu meritis crebrescit.' Abbreviates Pseudo-Abdias, v. 14–23.

i. 298 Illuc nimirum multi accurrunt, uota et orationes Deo fundunt: meritisque sancti Iohannis apostoli et æuangelistæ optatum precum suarum effectum percipiunt, et pulsis infirmitatibus et

i. 299 periculis uirtutes orationum eius salubriter sentiunt. Cum quibus et ego peccator accedo, deuotionem meam trepidus exhibeo: et excellenti saluatoris amico in fide et spe deuotus orationem effundo.

O Iohannes beatissime, Christi familiaris amice, qui ab eodem Domino Iesu Christo uirgo electus et inter ceteros magis dilectus, atque misteriis cœlestibus ultra omnes imbutus, apostolus eius et æuangelista factus es clarissimus: te suppliciter obsecro, me miserum tamen diligentem te dilige queso, meisque precibus clemens exauditor adesto. Labores meos et erumnas quibus angor assidue, et multimodas infirmitates corporis mei morumque molestias meorum respice, meritisque uiuacibus et orationibus pro me ad Dominum pie oblatis a me efficaciter amoue, ut a culpis emundatus diuino cultui merear semper inherere, et fidelium niueæ phalangi sociatus regem sabaoth in æternum laudare.[2] Amen.

6

Iacobus minor filius Alphei, qui in æuangelio nominatur frater Domini, quia Maria uxor Alphei matertera fuit matris Domini, quam Mariam Cleophe Iohannis æuangelista cognominat,[3] ab apostolis post ascensionem Domini Ierosolimorum episcopus statim ordinatus est, et eiusdem sedis regimine per

[1] Orderic may have used a manuscript of the Apocalypse containing a preface wrongly attributed to Jerome (cf. Migne, *PL* xxix. 1091).

[2] This, the only prayer wholly in the first person singular, is clearly Orderic's personal prayer to a saint for whom he appears to have felt a special devotion.

[3] Isidore, *Etym.* VII. ix. 14; John xix. 25; Rabanus, *In Matth.* iii. 10.

annos xxx potitus est. Ipsum omnes tam pro illius nimia sanctitate quam pro saluatoris consanguinitate apostoli honorabant, et de diuersis regionibus dum ad predicandum dispersi essent ad ipsum uelut ad patrem oportunis temporibus recurrebant, necessariosque consultus ab ipso ut a magistro prout ratio deposcebat humiliter flagitabant. Tandem septimo Neronis imperii anno, dum in Ierusalem predicaret Christum Dei filium/ de templo a Iudeis precipitatus est et lapidatus, ibique iuxta templum kal. Maii sepultus. i. 300

'Egesippus uir sanctus . . . astruunt[1] et sequuntur.' Based on Jerome, *De uiris illustribus*, 2; Eusebius, *HE* IV. xxii, both citing Hegesippus. i. 300–1

'Ex quibus aliquanti . . . prope templum kal. Maii est sepultus.' Eusebius, *HE* II. xxiii, citing Hegesippus. i. 301–3

'Non multo . . . insignis hystoriographi.' Eusebius, *HE* II. xxiii, citing Josephus. i. 303

Incredulis pro certo Iudeis duplici contritione periclitantibus, æcclesia Dei gaudens in uera fide et saluificis uirtutibus, fortem bellatorem in auxilium diuturni certaminis aduocat pura deuotione clarisque uocibus, Iacobe iuste Iesu frater Domini, sit tibi pia super nos compassio/ quos reos facit superba iactantia, atque fedauit mundi petulantia.[2] Nostra clementer exaudi peccamina, impetrans nobis uere lucis gaudia. Pro inimicis qui orasti Dominum/ tibi deuotis impende suffragium, ut sempiternum nanciscamur premium. Amen.

7

Phylippus os lampadis interpretatur,[3] quo nomine demonstratur quod ipse totus patens erat infusioni geminæ karitatis, et diuinis obsequendo mandatis, imbutus et instructus karismatibus sacris instar lucidæ lampadis, barbaras gentes illustrauit rutilantibus exemplis et doctrina ueritatis.

'Hic a Bethsaida ciuitate . . . leuaque sepultæ sunt.' Abbreviates Pseudo-Abdias, x. 1–4; 'ibique multa beneficia fideliter poscentibus fiunt, meritis illius ad quem amici sponsi[2] accedunt, i. 303–5

[1] Le Prévost printed 'asserunt' for 'astruunt'.
[2] *AS hymn.*, p. 126; *Brev. Sar.* iii., p. xc.
[3] Isidore, *Etym.* VII. ix. 16.
[4] From the second century St. Philip the Apostle was wrongly identified with the married St. Philip the Evangelist (cf. Act. apost. xxi. 8–9), and was cited by

et tripudiantes claris uocibus ita canunt, Proni rogamus Philippe os lampadis, pias cœlestis aures pulsa iudicis:' ut quæ meremur repellat supplicia, et quæ precamur det superna gaudia.[1] Amen.'

8

i. 306 Thomas 'abissus', et Didimus interpretatur 'geminus',[2] quia Saluatori similis est redimitus multimodis uirtutum karismatibus. Hic æuangelium predicauit Parthis et Medis, Hircanis et Persis, Bactrianis et Indis, ac martirium in Calamina ciuitate Indiæ xii kal' Ianuarii sub Mesdeo rege consummauit, et non multo post inde ad Edessam urbem multis mirabilibus choruscauit.

In relationibus de apostolis multa diuersitas est tam pro antiquitate temporis, quam pro longinquitate regionum ubi agricolæ Christi predicauerunt barbaris, qui dissona barbarie sua ualde discrepant a Romanorum ritibus et usu locutionis. Vnde in quibusdam quæ de sanctis apostolis legimus, quoniam ab incertis edita sunt auctoribus, et usque ad nos transmissa dubitamus:' presertim cum a Gelasio papa[3] aliisque magnis apocripha nuncupata sint doctoribus. Egregius quoque pontifex Augustinus in huiusmodi scriptis dubitauit, et cum meticulosa scrupulositate de sancti Thomæ gestis contra Faustum Manicheum quoddam exemplum protulit.[4] Hoc ideo dixi de dissonantia scriptorum, quæ per orbem passim reperitur in uoluminibus antiquorum, non ut derogem quod absit mirandis operibus sanctorum, sed ut quæcumque scripta sunt de apostolis aliisue beatis studio priorum cum subtili cautela discutiantur[a] ad fidei munimentum et ædificationem morum. Nunc in nomine Domini breuiter prosequar narrationem, quæ sancti Thomæ apostoli refert fructiferam peregrinationem, felicem et gloriosam de
i. 307 Christo predicationem, et laboriosam usque ad perennis uitæ brauium passionem.

Clement of Alexandria as an example of a married apostle (Eusebius, *HE* III. xxxi. 1–2, citing Clement); consequently his cult was popular among betrothed and married persons.

[1] *AS hymn.*, p. 127.
[2] Isidore, *Etym.* VII. ix. 16.
[3] Mansi, viii. 150–1, 165–72.
[4] Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, xxii. 79 (Migne, *PL* xlii. 452).
[a] *MS* discutiatur.

'Thomas Didimus cum apud Cesaream esset ... "Tu es Domine Deus meus".' Abbreviates *Passio Sancti Thomæ Apostoli* (*Supplementum codicis apocryphi*, ed. M. Bonnet, Leipzig, 1883, i. 133–60). i. 307–19

Georgius Florentius Gregorius Turonensis uenerabilis archiepiscopus scribit, quod a Theodoro quodam de sancto Thoma audiuit, qui tunc temporis in Indiam peregrinatus fuerat, et inde reuersus hæc inter cetera narrabat. i. 319

'In India ... nec fuisse calcatum.' Cites Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, 32 (Migne, *PL* lxxi. 733–4). i. 319–20

Vere Deus noster omnipotens, iustus et pius iudex atque redditor patiens, sanctos suos mire glorificat, et ineffabiliter honore perenni coronat, genus humanum terrendo castigat, et puniendo per penitentiam saluificat. Nos igitur ipsi gementes in ualle plorationis supplicemus, pro ineffabilibus bonis suis gratias agamus, et mandatis eius inherendo ad illum festinemus. Beatum quoque Thomam apostolum qui Didimus dicitur exoremus,' eiusque fiducialiter canentes dicamus, i. 320 i. 321

O Thoma Christi perlustrator lateris, per illa sancta te rogamus uulnera:' quæ mundi cuncta diluerunt crimina, nostros reatus terge tuis precibus.[1] Dira sentimus peccatorum uulnera pro quibus damus anxii suspiria:' flentes oramus, pro nobis potentia offer tonanti clementer precamina. Amen.

9

Bartholomeus Sirum[2] est et interpretatur filius suspendentis aquas.[3] Hic in sorte predicationis Licaoniam accepit, deinde in Assiria et tercia India æuangelizauit. Ad ultimum in Albano maioris Armeniæ urbe uiuens est a barbaris decoriatus, atque iussu regis Astiagis decollatus, sicque nono kal. Septembris est terræ conditus. Huius sacratissimum corpus primum ad insulam Lipparis, deinde Beneuentum anno ab incarnatione Domini dccc nono translatum, pia honoratur ueneratione fidelium. Nunc totam seriem passionis eius libet sollerter rimari, et ex antiquis codicibus huic nostræ breuiter inserere narrationi.

'Indiæ tres esse ... reportata sunt ad palacium.' Abbreviates Pseudo-Abdias, viii. 1, 2. i. 321–4

[1] *AS hymn.*, p. 128; *Brev. Sar.* iii. 61.
[2] *Sic in MS.* [3] Isidore, *Etym.* VII. ix. 16.

i. 324–7 'Cumque sequentis diei ... ad Dominum migrauit.' Abbreviates Pseudo-Abdias, viii. 4–8.

i. 327–8 'Peracto multorum annorum spacio ... Inde collectum et sepultum est,' cites Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, 33 (Migne, *PL* lxxi. 734); adding, 'et monachilis concio cultui diuino dedita est.'[1]

10

Matheus Leui ut ipse in euangelio suo refert fuit thelonearius, sed ex publicanis est a Domino assumptus, et apostolorum numero additus,[2] multiplicique gratia decoratus. Hic primum in Iudea æuangelizauit, postea in Macedonia predicauit. Ad ultimum in Æthiopia postquam Eglippum regem cum multis milibus suæ gentis conuertit, et in Christo baptizauit, sub Hirtaco Adelpho dum missam celebraret martirium pertulit, sicque felix xi kal. Octobris ad Dominum migrauit. Series uero predicationis et passionis beati euangelistæ sic in priscis uoluminibus reperitur.

i. 328–35 'Matheus apostolus ... Hic primus æuangelium Domini nostri Iesu Christi hebreo scripsit sermone,' Abbreviates Pseudo-Abdias, vii. 1–15, adding, 'quod tempore Zenonis imperatoris inuentum est ipso reuelante. Huius nimirum memoriam sancta mater æcclesia xi kal. Octobris festiue celebrat, eique uocis et mentis dulci modulamine cantat, Mathee sancte bino pollens munere, sedulis Iesum interpella uocibus/ ut nos in mundi gubernet turbinibus, ne post æternus sorbeat interitus.'[3]

11

i. 336 Simon Chananeus id est zelotes ad distinctionem Simonis Petri et Iudæ traditoris, qui et ipse Simon Scariothis dictus est/ de Chana uico Galileæ fuit, ubi Dominus aquam in uinum mutauit.[4] Hic principatum in Ægipto accepit.

Iudas Iacobi trinomius fuit. Iudas enim et Taddeus atque Lebbeus dictus est.[5] Hic in Mesopotamia et in interioribus

[1] Half a page has been left blank.
[2] Isidore, *Etym.* VII. ix. 17.
[3] *AS hymn.*, p. 127; *Brev. Sar.*, iii. 838. Half a page has been left blank.
[4] Isidore. *Etym.* VII. ix. 18; cf. Rabanus, *In Matth.* iii. 10.
[5] Isidore, *Etym.* VII. ix. 19.

Ponti predicauit. Inde simul ambo Persidem ingressi, cum innumeram gentis ipsius multitudinem Christo subdidissent, quinto kal. Nouembris martirium consummauerunt.

'Craton apostolorum discipulus ... interpretata sunt ab Affricano.' Cites Pseudo-Abdias, vi. 20.[1] 'Inde adbreuiatio excerpta est grata uolentibus scire, quæ principia predicationis eorum fuerint, uel quo fine mundum dereliquerint, ac ad cœlestia regna migrauerint'.

'Sancti igitur apostoli ... prodere non decet" '. Abbreviates Pseudo-Abdias, vi. 7–18. i. 336–41

Nicharon amicus regis dum exercicium belli ageretur, sagittam in genu accepit, quæ nulla ratione ex osse poterat euelli. Tunc beatus Simon Dominum Iesum inuocauit, et mox ut manum applicuit, sagittam abstulit, atque statim homo sanatus est, ita ut nec signum uulneris appareret. i. 341

'Duæ tigrides ... custodes erant.' Abbreviates Pseudo-Abdias, vi. 19.

Almi ergo predicatores materiam inde sermocinandi sumpserunt, populosque quid homines rationabiles agere uel qualiter obœdire Deo deberent docuerunt, exemplumque brutorum animalium digito præ oculis ostenderunt. i. 342

'Rege populisque ... ad mortem perhibuerunt uenerantur.' Abbreviates Pseudo-Abdias, vi. 19–23. i. 342–4

Nos etiam qui sperantes in Domino hæc scribendo recolimus, beatos apostolos summi regis comites et conuiuas tripudiantes laudamus, eisque in atriis Ierusalem quæ est mater nostra cum pueris Osanna redemptori clamantibus deuote psallimus, i. 344–5

Beate Simon et Taddee inclite, cernite nostros gemitus cum fletibus, quique per lapsum meruimus baratrum, per uos cœlorum mereamur aditum.[2] Amen.

12

Mathias de lxx discipulis unus sorte in locum Iudæ ab apostolis electus est,[3] et in Iudea predicauit ibique pro Christo passus est. Huius festiuitas vi kal. Martii celebratur, et consecrata cohors deuote accedens modulando sic eum precatur, i. 345

[1] This passage contains the attribution of the work to Abdias.
[2] *AS hymn.*, p. 128; *Brev. Sar.* iii. 950.
[3] Isidore, *Etym.* VII. ix. 21.

Mathia iuste duodeno solio residens sorte nos a cunctis nexibus solue reatus, ueræ lucis gaudiis quo perfruamur tuis sacris precibus.[1] Amen.

13

i. 346 Iudas Simon Scariothes de tribu Isachar[2] ortus est, et inter duodecim apostolos computatus est. Sed quia letali cupiditate inflammatus Iudeis specialem magistrum dominumque suum xxx argenteis uendidit, apostolatus dignitatem perdidit, et male pœnitens miser laqueo se suspendit. Sequaces eius adhuc in æcclesia multi sunt; qui sacro nomine sine iustis actibus nuncupari uolunt. Digna quidem indignus et mistica Iudas habuit nomina; quibus falsi Christiani tipice denotantur in æcclesia. Iudas enim confitens interpretatur, quo nomine illi portenduntur; qui ut ait apostolus confitentur se nosse Deum, factis autem negant. Porro Simon obœdiens interpretatur; per quod uocabulum hipochritæ et fraudulenti falsique obœdientes figurantur, qui non pro amore Dei desiderioque cœlesti dominicis preceptis famulantur; sed pro inani gloria humanoque fauore transitoriaque mercede maiorum mandatis specie tenus obsequuntur. E quibus plures ut Iudas Scarioth nimia cupiditate excecantur, et relicto bonorum studio consortioque in detestabiles reatus ultro labuntur; funibusque peccatorum indissolubiliter illaqueati periclitantur. Transitoria quippe mercede in presenti seculo gaudent, et hic pro quibusdam honestatibus et manifestis obseruationibus recepta recompensatione elati turgent, sed in futuro inextricabili nexu constricti tartareis in cloacis lugebunt, et inedicibili suppliciorum genere pro perpetratis sceleribus cruciati omni spe remissionis carebunt.

Recedente de cetu apostolico Iuda proditore, quid residui meruere, qui cum Domino Iesu permansere? Ineffabile decus et
i. 347 sempiternam beatitudinem. Sancta mater æcclesia credit, et omnis katholicus fideliter asserit; quod xii apostoli uere beati sunt et sullimes, æternæque felicitatis participes. Sal enim terræ et lux mundi xii horæ perennis diei, fructiferæ uitis fœcundi palmites, Christi cooperatores, eiusque in regno cœlesti cohæredes, celebri memoria fidelium passim recoluntur, et in cunctis nationibus ubi uera fides imperat honorantur, magistrique gen-

[1] *AS hymn.*, p. 128; *Brev. Sar.* iii. 182. [2] Isidore, *Etym.* VII. ix. 20.

tium et rectores æcclesiarum ueneranter uocitantur, utpote orbis a Christo constituti iudices, reproborum districti censores, et deuotorum pii adiutores, assiduique intercessores. Despectis enim omnibus quæ mundana sunt:/ Christo qui uera uitis et uita est, indissolubiliter inheserunt. Nunc in cœlis cum eodem rege regum regnant, in eius perenni laude cum angelis tripudiant, et super xii thronos residentes xii tribus Israel cum Domino iudicant. Horum siquidem gesta quæ leguntur in æcclesia perscrutatus sum:/ eademque prout in priscis inueni codicibus michi adbreuiando exercitatus sum.

14

Amodo de sociis et successoribus eorum tractare desidero:/ et quorundam mentionem opitulante Deo huic operi deuote commendabo. Id agam non quod ipsi mea indigeant laudatione, quorum laus est Deus ipse, qui trinus et unus regnat in æternitate, suosque secum beatificat æterna remuneratione, sed ut eis hoc agendo exhibeam meam deuotionem, optineamque fauorem eorum ad meam saluationem, pie nanciscendam per eorum interuentionem.

'Ioseph igitur . . . credentibus prebuit.' Based on Act. apost. iv. 36; Eusebius, *HE* I. xii. 1. i. 347–8

'In primis . . . uocati sunt Christiani.' Based on Act. apost. iv. 37, ix. 27–8, xi. 22–6. i. 348

'Barnabas et Saulus . . . ueritatis perduxerunt.' Based on Act. apost. xi. 29–30, xii. 25–xiii. 12. i. 348–9

'Electis itaque . . . conuerterunt.' Summarizes Act. apost. xiii. 42–xiv. 1. i. 349

'Venientes in Listris . . . uix sedauerunt.' Abbreviates Act. apost. xiv. 6–17.

'Inde Derben . . . heresim destruxerunt.' Summarizes Act. apost. xv. 1–34. i. 349–50

Vt ueri pastores uerbum Dei æuangelizabant, ignaros docebant, ægrotos curabant, omnemque sollicitudinem erga sanctam religionem habebant, et ne in aliquam heresim neophiti inciderent summopere precauebant, ideoque frequenter æcclesias uisitabant, in quibus uerbum Dei predicauerant. Callidam enim Sathanæ astutiam esse sciebant, ideoque ne corda renouata sanctorum letifero germine zizaniorum fœdaret prouidebant. Postmodum i. 350

ut Lucas ait æuangelista uisum est eis, ut Paulus reuerteretur Ierusolimis, Barnabas autem repeteret Ciprum ciuitatem suam de qua ortus erat.[1] Iohannem uero cognomento Marcum in ministerio secum habebat. [2]Hic nimirum cum ethnicus esset, et cum Orduone socio suo Cirillo pontifici nefandissimi Iouis ministraret, in loco qui dicitur Iconium per Barnabam et Paulum baptizatus est, et fideliter ipsos per plurima loca comitatus est.

i. 350–1 'Denique dum . . . sese uiderunt.' Based on *AA SS* June ii. 432.

i. 351–2 'Barnabas et Iohannes . . . iii idus Iunii collocauit.' Summarizes *AA SS* June ii. 433–5.

Ob hanc itaque occultationem plurimis annorum curriculis uenerabile corpus latuit, nec inueniri a Christicolis ualuit. Tandem tempore Zenonis imperatoris et sancti Gelasii papæ, eodem sancto apostolo reuelante inuentum est:[3] et cum himnis et laudibus ad honorem Dei mirifice collocatum est. Pro sancti

i. 353 Barnabæ apostoli meritis multa pie poscentibus impenduntur beneficia, quorum etiam nos participes faciat exuberans Dei nostri gratia, quæ infatigabiliter operatur suisque quos ad uitam predestinauit efficaciter suffragatur, per cuncta sæcula. Amen.

15

Marcus æuangelista beati Petri apostoli discipulus et interpres et in baptismate filius fuit, æuangeliumque Domini nostri Iesu Christi eius ab ore scripsit.[4] Qui sicut fertur, pollicem sibi abscidi fecit ut sacerdotio reprobus haberetur:' nec tamen ab apostolis repudiatur quin eorum electione episcopus Alexandriæ preficeretur.

i. 353–4 'Hunc beatus Petrus . . . iii idus Iulii martirizatus est.' Abbreviates *Passio beatissimorum martyrum Hermagore et Fortunati* (Mombritius, ii. 7–8).

i. 354–8 'Beatus uero Marcus . . . iustum corpus tulerunt.' Abbreviates *Acta S. Marci*, *AA SS* Apr. iii. 347–8.

i. 358 Et in loco lapidis excisi cum gloria vii kal. Maias sepelierunt. Sic beatus Marcus æuangelista primus Alexandriæ presul pro Christo passus est:' et corpus eius in orientali parte repositum

[1] Act. apost. xv. 39. [2] Cf. *AA SS* June ii. 431–2.
[3] Bede, *Chron.*, p. 305; Isidore, *Chron.*, p. 474.
[4] Cf. Jerome, *De vir. ill.* 8.

est.[1] Quod post multorum curricula annorum propter incursiones paganorum qui totum orientem ut locustæ operuerunt, sibique maximam partem mundi ad austrum et ad aquilonem subegerunt, fideles Christiani Aquileiam ubi primus Christum annunciauit transtulerunt. Aquileiensis igitur presul stemma patriarchatus quo Alexandrinus pontifex olim potitus est nunc retinet, et quartus primas ob reuerentiam eius in orbe renitet, sancti uidelicet Marci quem Petrus clauiger regni cœlorum in i. 359
Ægiptum destinauit, et meridiani climatis principatum ad multarum salutem animarum commisit. Venetiarum indigenæ et occidentales populi habito corpore beati æuangelistæ gratulantur, et indesinenter illud ad laudem cunctipotentis Dei uenerantur, deprecantes ut in collegio beatorum computari in æternum mereantur. Amen.

16

Lucas æuangelista natione Sirus, apud Antiochiam medicinæ artis egregius, et apostolorum Christi discipulus, postea usque ad confessionem Paulum apostolum secutus, sine crimine permanens in uirginitate, Domino maluit seruire.[2] Hic diuino stimulatus imperio in Achaiæ partibus æuangelium scripsit, grecisque fidelibus incarnationem Domini fideli narratione ostendit, eundemque de stirpe Dauid descendisse monstrauit. Deinde alium librum specialem edidit, in quo actus apostolorum et primordia nascentis æcclesiæ luculenter enucleauit.[3] Sic geminos Lucas Theophilo id est Deum diligenti libros condidit, cunctisque gemina karitate flagrantibus inspirante spiritu sancto exhibuit. In priori quippe libro uerum Christi sacerdotium descripsit, quo agnus Dei precioso sanguine effuso mundi piaculum expiauit. In sequenti uero sullimitatem ineffabilis deitatis deprompsit, qua filius Dei ad dexteram patris in assumpto i. 360
homine ascendit, aduentum quoque spiritus paracliti super apostolos in igneis linguis enarrauit, quo primitiua æcclesia illustrata gloriose splendescit. In his duobus libris Lucæ spiritualis archiatri uera medicina inuenitur, qua lætales morbi peccatorum depelluntur, et uitalis iusticiæ remedium pie querentibus

[1] Cf. *AA SS* Apr. iii. 352.
[2] Cf. Jerome, *De vir. ill.* 7; *Brev. Sar.* iii. 931–5.
[3] Bede, *Super act. apost.*, preface (Migne, *PL* xcii. 938).

ingeritur. Scriptis itaque et eloquiis beatus Lucas Deum annunciauit:' et lumen ueritatis ignorantibus intimauit. Inter cætera miracula quæ fecit:' fertur quod mortuum in nomine Domini resuscitauerit. Tandem cum octoginta et trium esset annorum:' in Bithinia spiritu sancto plenus xv kal. Nouembris obiit, cuius ossa cum ossibus sancti Andreæ apostoli et Timothei discipuli Pauli apostoli xx^mo Constantii imperatoris anno Constantinopolim[1] vii idus Maii translata sunt.

17

i. 360–1 Ecce sanctorum apostolorum et æuangelistarum qui conuiuæ saluatoris fuerunt et socii, eodem Domino largiente iuuamen mentionem libenter iam feci:' et eorum pia gesta prout potui, breuiter atque ueraciter de diuersis codicibus collegi, et in unum michi congessi. Adhuc restat ut de beato Martiali Lemouicensi aliquid memorem, qui precipuis pollens uirtutibus, inter maximos habetur post apostolos clarissimus. Multa quidem de illo Aurelianus quem a mortuis in nomine Domini resuscitauerat, ueraci stilo et diligenti cura seriatim enarrat.[2] Inde quædam michi colligere cupio, ad quæ colligenda sanctum spiritum inuoco, ut opem suam meo dignetur conferre studio.

i. 361–81 'Apud Iudeam ... si scriberentur uolumina sufficerent.' Abbreviates the apocryphal *Vita Sancti Martialis*, attributed to Aurelian; printed, W. de Gray Birch, *The Life of St. Martial* (London, 1872), pp. 6–38.

i. 382 Interueniat pro nobis almus presul Martialis de se loquentibus, qui conuiua Christi fuit et apostolorum socius, qui pius pastor extitit Lemouicensibus, et primus predicator populis occidentalibus, ut sacris eius orationibus muniti, hæreditatis æternæ mereamur participes ascisci. Amen.

[1] Bede, *Chron.*, pp. 296–7.

[2] The *Vita S. Martialis* of Pseudo-Aurelian dated from the early eleventh century, and may have been the work of Adhémar of Chabannes, who had been educated at the abbey of St. Martial, Limoges. Before that time legends recorded by Gregory of Tours (*De gloria confessorum*, c. 27) placed the life of St. Martial in the third century, and he was venerated as a confessor. The legend of his apostolicity, which made him the first missionary of Aquitaine and even received papal approval in 1031, depended on the late forgery. See L. Duchesne, 'Saint Martial de Limoges', *Annales du Midi*, iv (1892), 289–330.

18

[1]Quia chronographyam secundum scripta priscorum contexere decreui, et æcclesiasticam incipiens narrationem in cuius capite de sanctis apostolis quædam breuiter apposui nunc adiuuante Deo de Romanis presulibus continuatam seriem edere nitor, et a beato Petro apostolo cui Christus claves regni cœlorum commisit inchoare conabor. Hoc enim opus necessarium duco, ac studiosis clientibus sibi aliisque docilibus commodum autumo.[2] Iam ut ueraciter rimatus sum per mille et centum annos ex quo fortis Emmanuhel per intemeratam uirginem nube carnis trabeatus uenit ad nos in urbe Roma quæ ab ipso sui primordio super omnes uicinos molita est efferre fasces suos, et usque ad Euphraten Oceanumque disponente Deo dilatauit fines suos plures opitulante Deo eximii athletæ tenuerunt æcclesiastici regiminis frenos, quorum triumphales cursus perscrutari bonis delectabile est inter fluctus mundanos, ut per hæroum uestigia gradientes desudent imitari strenuos actus atque saluificos.

Beatus Simon Petrus princeps apostolorum, filius Iohannis, i. 383
uico Bethsaida prouinciæ Galileæ ortus, primum in Antiochia vii annis sedit, deinde sub Claudio contra Simonem magum Romam pergit, ibique xxv annis æuangelium predicans æcclesiam rexit. Contra Simonem multoties coram Nerone et populo disputauit, et eo deuicto a Nerone xxxvi anno a passione Domini iii kal. Iulii cum Paulo martirizatur.

'Linus de Tuscia . . . capite intraret.' *LP* i. 121.

'Cletus Romanus . . . diebus xx.' *LP* i. 122.

Rufinus Aquileiensis presbiter de Lino et Cleto dicit in proemio hystoriæ Clementis,[3] quod ipsi uiuente Petro apostolo ministrauerint sibique successerint. Valde miror quod tam prudens interpres et hystoriographus, et tam grecis quam latinis admodum eruditus, non considerauerit quod ambo felicem cursum martirio consummauerint, nec aliqui persecutionem in urbe pro Christo usque ad tercium decimum Neronis annum post Simonis magi precipitium perpessi fuerint. Linus quippe

[1] Le Prévost numbered two consecutive chapters 17; this has been corrected.
[2] The translation is, 'So I hold this work to be necessary, and assert that it is agreeable for studious listeners and others who are teachable.'
[3] *Recognitiones*, preface.

i. 384 tempore Vespasiani. Cletus uero persecutione passus est Domitiani.[1]

'Clemens Romanus . . . diebus xxi.' *LP* i. 123.

i. 384–7 'Hic disciplinam beati Petri apostoli . . . per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.' Abbreviates *Passio Sancti Clementis papæ et martyris* (Mombritius, i. 341–4).

i. 387 Clemens constituit ut altaris palla, kathedra, candelabrum si uetustate consumpta fuerint, concrementur.[2]

'Anacletus Grecus . . . diebus xvi.' *LP* i. 125; citing (Hic decreuit . . . suspicionibus careant) Ps.-Isid. *Decreta Anacleti*, ep. i. 3–4.

i. 388 'Euaristus Iudeus . . . per stilum ueritatis.' *LP* i. 126; adding 'eique uelut oculi essent omnibus locis' to describe the deacons, and citing (Is etiam constituit . . . alium accipiat) Ps.-Isid. *Decreta Euaristi*, ep. i, 2.

'Alexander Romanus . . . cessauit episcopatus diebus xxxv.' *LP* i. 127, adding, 'Multa per eum Domino miracula fecit.'

i. 388–9 'Sixtus Romanus . . . cessauit episcopatus diebus xiiii.' *LP* i. 128; inserting 'Presbiter intra actionem in populo ymnum angelorum et hominum decantet, Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth, pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria tua, osanna in excelsis, benedictus qui uenit in nomine Domini, osanna in excelsis,' and citing (Accusatoris primo persona . . . credendum non est) Ps.-Isid. *Decreta Sixti*, ep. i. 3.

i. 389 'Thelesphorus Grecus . . . cessauit episcopatus diebus vii.' *LP* i. 129.

i. 389–90 'Yginus Atheniensis . . . cessauit episcopatus diebus iii.'

[1] Conflicting traditions about the names and dates of the first successors of St. Peter were in existence from the early days of the Church. According to Roman traditions, Linus and Cletus were the first successors of St. Peter; but an apocryphal letter from St. Clement to St. James, forged in the second century, stated that St. Peter, just before his martyrdom, had ordained St. Clement to be his successor. Rufinus published a Latin version of this letter and, in his preface to the apocryphal *Recognitiones Sancti Clementis*, he reconciled the letter with the Roman tradition by asserting that Linus and Cletus must have acted as St. Peter's vicars during his lifetime, and that St. Clement was his first successor. Orderic was faced with incompatible sources; the *Liber Pontificalis* stated that both Linus and Cletus were martyred, and though there is no other early source for such a statement, much less for Orderic's positive assertion that Linus was martyred under Vespasian and Cletus under Domitian, his acceptance of these later dates forced him into disagreement with Rufinus. For the chronological difficulties and conflicting sources, see *LP* i, pp. lx–lxi, lxxix–lxxii, 118–19.

[2] Ps.-Isid., *Ep. Clementis*, ii. 45.

LP i. 130; citing (metropolitanus absque omnium . . . sententia irrita erit) Ps.-Isid. *Decreta Viginii*, ep. i. 2.

'Pius Italus ex patre Rufino . . . episcopatus diebus xiiii.' *LP* i. 132. i. 390

'Anicetus Sirus ex patre Iohanne . . . episcopatus diebus xvii.' *LP* i. 132; citing (Episcopus a minus . . . præesse debet') Ps.-Isid. *Decreta Aniceti*, ep. i. 1, 2.

'Sother Campanus . . . diebus xxi.' *LP* i. 135, substituting 'Defunctus est' for 'Sepultus est'.

'Eleuther Grecus . . . diebus v'. *LP* i. 136; citing (absens non iudicetur . . . uox audiatur) Ps.-Isid. *Decreta Eleutheri*, ep. i. 5. i. 391

'Victor Afer ex patre [Felice][1] . . . diebus xii.' *LP* i. 137; citing (nemo de incertis iudicetur) Ps.-Isid. *Decreta Victoris*, ep. i. 5.

'Zephirinus Romanus ex patre A[bundio] . . . diebus vii.' *LP* i. 139; citing (iniuste expoliatus . . . non modicas accipiat) possibly from Ps.-Isid. *Decreta Zephyrini*, ep. i. 11.

'Calixtus Romanus ex patre D[omitio] . . . episcopatus diebus vi.' *LP* i. 141; citing (Hic decreuit . . . adipisci poterit) Ps.-Isid. *Decreta Calixti*, ep. ii. 12, 20. i. 391–2

Tunc Calepodius presbiter et Asterius ac Palmatius consul cum cc de familia sua passi sunt.

'Vrbanus Romanus ex patre P[ont]iano . . . Cecilia.' *LP* i. 143; citing (ut omnes fideles . . . pleni christiani sint) Ps.-Isid. *Decreta Urbani*, ep. i. 10, and adding Maximus to the martyrs. i. 392

Ipse uero viii kal' Iunii martirizatus est.

'Pontianus Romanus ex patre Calpurnio . . . diebus x.' *LP* i. 145. i. 393

Anteros Grecus ex patre Romulo . . . diebus xiii.' *LP* i. 147.

'Fabianus Romanus ex patre Fabio . . . diebus vii.' *LP* i. 148; citing (Conuicium . . . inferre uoluit) Ps.-Isid. *Decreta Fabiani*, ep. iii. 28.

'Cornelius Romanus ex patre Castino . . . diebus xxxv.' *LP* i. 150–1; 'Hic decreuit . . . non faciant.' Ps.-Isid. *Decreta Cornelii*, ep. ii. 3.

'Lucius Romanus ex patre Porphirio . . . cum episcopo sint.' *LP* i. 153. i. 394

'Stephanus Romanus ex patre Iobio . . . non utantur.' *LP* i. i. 394–5

[1] The names of the fathers of the early popes were added in the margin in Orderic's hand; some of the writing has been cut away in rebinding.

154, inserting 'Lucillam quæ a cunabulis ceca erat illuminauit, et Nemesium tribunum patrem eius aliosque promiscui sexus lxii baptizauit. Post martirium Simpronii, Olimpii, Exuperiæ et Theodoli xii presbiteros, Bonum, Faustum, Maurum, Primitiuum, Calumniosum, Iohannem, Exuperantium, Quirillum, Honoratum, aliosque plures per martirium premisit kal' Augusti, et ipse celebrata missa decollatus est' and 'Hic decreuit ut infames personæ sacerdotes non accusent.'

i. 395 'Sixtus Grecus ... Laurentius archidiaconus.' *LP* i. 155; citing (Hic statuit ... excommunicetur) Ps.-Isid. *Decreta Sixti II*, ep. ii. 5; and adding 'Yppolitus cum familia sua, Abdon et Sennes subreguli Persarum aliique multi diuersis suppliciis martirizati sunt.'

i. 395–6 'Dionisius ... diebus v.' *LP* i. 157; 'In decretis ... sponte proferri', cf. Ps.-Isid. *Decreta Dionysii*, ep. ii. 4.

i. 396 'Felix Romanus ex patre Constantio ... diebus v.' *LP* i. 158; 'Hic decreuit ... discutiatur', Ps.-Isid. *Decreta Felicis*, ep. ii. 10.

'Euticianus Tuscus ex patre M[arino] ... diebus viii.' *LP* i. 159.

'Gaius Dalmata ex patre G[aio] genere Diocle[tiani] ... diebus xi.' *LP* i. 161.

i. 396–7 'Marcellinus Romanus ex patre Pro[iecto] ... diebus xxv.' *LP* i. 162; citing (Hic decreuit ... attrahat) Ps.-Isid. *Decreta Marcellini*, ep. ii. 3.

i. 397 'Marcellus Romanus ex patre Be[nedicto] ... diebus xx.' *LP* i. 164.

'Eusebius ... baptizatus est.' *LP* i. 167.

i. 397–8 'Melchiades ... diebus xvi.' *LP* i. 168.

i. 398 'Siluester ... diebus xi.' *LP* i. 170, 172.

i. 398–9 'Hunc Cirinus presbiter ... omnibus idem complacebat.' Summarizes *Vita Sancti Sylvestri*, i (Mombritius, ii. 508–9).

i. 399 'Immanis erat draco ... Christo credentes baptizati sunt.' Summarizes *Vita Sancti Sylvestri*, ii (Mombritius, ii. 529–30).

i. 399–404 'Constantino imperatore Christianos ... Dei uirtute admodum exaltari.' Summarizes *Vita Sancti Sylvestri*, i–ii (Mombritius, ii. 510–29).

i. 404 'Siluester papa ... diebus clxv.'[1] *LP* i. 187, adding 'Oppressus iudices quos elegerit habeat.'

[1] The figure in the *Liber pontificalis* is xv; the 'd' (abbreviation for 'diebus') as written in Alençon MS. 18 could easily be read as 'cl', so accounting for Orderic's mistake.

'Marcus . . . diebus xx.' *LP* i. 202. i. 404–5

'Iulius . . . diebus xxv.' *LP* i. 205. i. 405

'Liberius . . . diebus vi.' *LP* i. 207.

'Felix . . . dinumerantur.' *LP* i. 207–8, 211, inserting 'Liberio exulante', and adding 'Statuta quippe quæ Liberius ante exilium fecerat autentica sunt: quæ uero post reditum quia consenserat hereticis irrita sunt.' i. 406

'Damasus . . . diebus xxxi.' *LP* i. 212, inserting 'Ieronimum diuinæ legis interpretem amauit, pontificali auctoritate admodum corroborauit, ac ad indagandam scripturarum certitudinem instigauit.'[1] i. 406–7

'Siricius . . . diebus xx.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 216. i. 407

'Anastasius Romanus . . . diebus xxi.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 218. i. 407–8

'Innocentius . . . diebus xxii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 220–2. i. 408

'Zozimas . . . octo consecrauit.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 225. i. 409

'Bonifacius . . . Romam reuerti.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 227–8.

'Celestinus . . . diebus xxi.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 230. i. 410

'Sixtus . . . diebus xxii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 232–5. i. 410–11

'Leo Tuscus . . . dies vii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 238–9. i. 411

'Hilarius Sardus . . . diebus xv.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 242–5. i. 411–12

'Simplicius . . . diebus vi.' *LP* i. 249. i. 412

'Felix . . . diebus v.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 252, adding, 'tempore Theoderici regis et Zenonis Augusti.' i. 412–13

'Gelasius . . . diebus vii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 255, inserting 'Manicheos quos in urbe Roma inuenit, exilio deportari precepit, et codices eorum ante fores basilicæ Sanctæ Mariæ concremauit.' i. 413

'Anastasius . . . dies iiii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 258. i. 413–14

'Simmachus . . . diebus vii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 260–3. i. 414–15

'Hormisda . . . dies vii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 269–72. i. 416–17

'Iohannes Tuscus . . . dies lviii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 275–6. i. 417–18

'Felix Samius . . . diebus iii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 279. i. 418

'Bonefacius Romanus . . . dies xv.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 281. i. 418–19

'Iohannes Mercurius . . . dies vi.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 285. i. 419

'Agapitus . . . diebus xxviii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 287–8. i. 419–20

'Siluerius . . . diebus xiiii.' Summarizes *LP* i. 290–3. i. 420–1

'Vigilius Romanus . . . Lateranis destinauit.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 296–9. i. 421–3

'Pelagius . . . diebus xxv.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 305. i. 424

[1] Cf. the letter of Pope Damasus to Jerome, *LP* i. 117; Rouen, MS. 31, f. 9.

i. 424–5 'Iohannes Romanus . . . diebus iii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 305–6; PD *HL* ii. 5, 11.

i. 425 'Benedictus Romanus . . . fame subuenit.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 308, adding information from PD *HL* ii. 7, 8, 9. Adds (on the Emperor Justinian),[1] Is pro uictoriis aduersarum frequentibus gentium Alamannicus, Gothicus, Alanicus, Guandalicus et Africanus est agnominatus. Hic intra urbem Constantinopolim Christo Domino templum extruxit, quod greco uocabulo Agiam Sophyam nominauit, cuius opus adeo cuncta ædificia excellit, ut in totis terrarum spaciis huic simile inueniri non possit. Erat enim idem princeps fide katholicus, in operibus rectus, in iudiciis iustus, ideoque prospera illi concurrebant in omnibus.

i. 426 Huius tempore Cassiodorus Senator postea monachus in urbe Roma tam seculari quam diuina scientia claruit, qui inter cetera quæ nobiliter scripsit, psalmorum precipue occulta potentissime reserauit.

Tunc etiam Dionisius abbas in urbe Roma constitutus, Paschalem calculum miranda argumentatione composuit. Priscianus quoque Cesariensis apud Constantinopolim grammaticæ artis ut ita dixerim profunda rimatus est.

Arator nichilominus Romanæ æcclesiæ subdiaconus, poeta mirabilis, apostolorum actus exametris uersibus exarauit.

Tunc etiam beatissimus pater Benedictus et prius in loco qui Sublacus dicitur, qui ab urbe quadraginta milibus abest, et postea in castro Cassino magnis uitæ meritis et apostolicis uirtutibus effulsit, cuius uitam ut notum est beatus papa Gregorius in suis dialogis suaui sermone composuit.[2]

i. 427 'Benedictus papa . . . diebus x.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 308.

'Pelagius Romanus . . . diebus xxv.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 309.

i. 427–8 'Gregorius Romanus arte phylosophus Gordiani prætoris uiri clarissimi et beatæ Siluiæ filius . . . diebus xviii.' *LP* i. 312; PD *HL* iv. 8; inserting 'Doctor enim incomparabilis enituit, et multa sagacitate ingentique studio dicendi et scribendi utiliter laborauit, æcclesiæque Dei filiis admodum profuit.'

i. 429 'Sabianus Tuscus . . . mensibus xi, diebus xxiii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 315.

[1] The dating is wrong; some of the Emperor Justin II's work is attributed to Justinian (d. 565). See below, iii. 58, for the grouping together in the same section of Dionysius Exiguus, Arator, Cassiodorus, and Benedict.

[2] Gregory the Great, *Libri IV dialogorum*, lib. II.

'Bonefacius Romanus . . . diebus vi.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 316.

'Bonefacius natione Marsorum . . . diebus xxxv.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 317. i. 429–30

'Deusdedit Romanus . . . diebus xvi.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 319. i. 430

'Bonefacius Campanus . . . diebus xiii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 321. i. 430–1

'Honorius Campanus . . . diebus xvii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 323–4; inserting 'tempore Eraclii imperatoris.' i. 431

'Seuerinus Romanus . . . diebus xxiiii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 328. i. 431–2

'Iohannes Dalmata . . . diebus xiii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 330. i. 432

'Teodorus Grecus . . . diebus sedecim.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 331. i. 432–3

'Martinus Tudertinus . . . Octobris obiit.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 336. i. 433

'Eugenius Romanus . . . diebus xxi.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 341. i. 434

'Vitalianus Signensis . . . diebus xiii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 343–4; inserting 'Romoaldum Grimoaldi regis filium in Beneuento obsedit, sed inde uictus fugiens Romam uenit' and 'Post quem Mezentius tirannus regnum inuasit. Tunc Sarraceni magnam stragem Christianorum in Sicilia fecerunt.' i. 434–5

'Adeodatus Romanus . . . renata sunt.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 346–7, twice substituting 'urbs' for 'ciuitas'. i. 435

'Donus Romanus . . . diebus xv.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 348, substituting 'cometes' for 'stella'. i. 435–6

'Agatho Siculus . . . diebus v.' Greatly abbreviates *LP* i. 350–5. i. 436

'Leo iunior . . . diebus xxii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 359–60. i. 437

'Benedictus iunior . . . diebus xv.' Adapted from *LP* i. 363. i. 437–8

'Iohannes Sirus . . . xiii ordinauit.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 366–7. i. 438

'Conon Siculus . . . diebus xxiii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 368–9. i. 438–9

'Sergius Sirus . . . diebus xx.'[1] Abbreviates *LP* i. 371–6. i. 439–40

'Iohannes Grecus . . . diebus xviii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 383. i. 441

'Iohannes Grecus de patre Platone . . . mensibus ii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 385, adding on Aripert, 'Raginberti Taurinensium ducis filius'. i. 441–2

'Sisinnius Sirus . . . diebus xviii.' Based on *LP* i. 388. i. 442

'Constantinus Sirus . . . diebus xl.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 389. i. 442–3

'Gregorius Romanus . . . legumen combussit.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 396–402. i. 443

'Leone principe . . . mense uno diebus v.' Based on *LP* i. 402–8. i. 444–5

[1] In this passage Orderic wrote, '*Agnus Dei* a clero et populo cantari statuit', correctly following the *Liber pontificalis*; Le Prévost wrongly printed 'ter cantari statuit'.

i. 445–6 'Gregorius Sirus ... episcopatus diebus viii.' Abbreviates *LP* i. 415–22; adding independently 'sinodum xciii episcoporum congregauit' and 'qui sacras Dei et sanctorum eius imagines ab æcclesiis eliminabant et irreuerenter urebant'; and from *LP* i. 426, 'Tunc pro Transamundo duce Spolitanorum qui Romam confugerat, quattuor urbes Romanis ablatæ sunt.'

i. 446–7 'Zacharias Grecus ... diebus xii.' Based on *LP* i. 426–35; adding, 'Liutprandus xxxii anno regni sui obiit, et Ratchisus Pemmonis ducis Foroiulianorum filius regnum suscepit.'

i. 447–8 'Stephanus Romanus ... diebus v.' Based on *LP* i. 440–56; adding the names of Queen Bertrade and Pippin's sons Charles and Carloman.

i. 448 'Paulus Romanus ... sedem inuasit.' Based on *LP* i. 463–5.

i. 449–50 'Stephanus Siculus ... diebus viii.' Based on *LP* i. 468–80.

i. 450–1 'Adrianus Romanus ... subrogatus est.' Based on *LP* i. 486–514.

i. 451–3 'Leo Romanus ... episcopatus mense uno.' Based on *LP* ii. 1–34.

i. 453 'Stephanus Romanus ... diebus xxvi.' Based on *LP* ii. 49–50.
'Paschalis Romanus ... diebus iiii.' Based on *LP* ii. 52–63.

i. 453 'Eugenius Romanus ... orbe regnauit.' Based on *LP* ii. 69.

i. 454 'Valentinus Romanus ... defunctus est.' Based on *LP* ii. 71-2.
'Gregorius Romanus ... dies xv.' Based on *LP* ii. 73–83.

i. 454–5 'Sergius Romanus ... diebus xv.' Based on *LP* ii. 86–101.

i. 455–6 'Leo Romanus ... Iulii dedicauit.' Based on *LP* ii. 106–134.

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i. 456 Ecce mentionem centum pontificum qui post beatum Petrum apostolicæ sedi prefuerunt in hoc opusculo denotaui, prout in scriptis sancti papæ Damasi ad Ieronimum uel in gestis pontificalibus inuestigaui. Porro de aliis quadraginta qui post Leonem quartum usque ad nostram ætatem prefuerunt apostolicæ sedi, huc usque integra gesta non inueni: ideoque uix pauca de illis audeo profari. Nomina solummodo nitor eorum per ordinem proferre, sed de progenie uel actibus eorum compellor omnino silere, donec possim donante Deo pleniora de illis ut cupio scripta reperire.

i. 457 Benedictus papa sedit anno uno mensibus vi diebus x.
Nicholaus papa annis ix mensibus x.

Adrianus papa annis v.
Iohannes papa annis x.
Marinus papa anno uno mensibus iiii.
Adrianus papa anno uno mensibus iiii.
[A]gapitus papa anno uno.
Basilius Stephanus anno uno.

Deinde Formosus, Iohannes et Stephanus tempore Ludouici transmarini floruerunt. Ipsos quoque secuti sunt Marinus, Agapitus, Octauianus, Leo, Benedictus, Iohannes qui Ottonem iuniorem benedixit, Benedictus, Benedictus, Gerbertus Siluester, Agapitus et Benedictus. Sic per annos fere centum et x patres xi prefuerunt apostolicæ sedi, quorum genealogiam seu certum i. 458
tempus prelationis uel occasus nondum inueni.[1]

[C]lemens Suidgerus qui fuit Bauembergensis episcopus, sedit annis ix, et Henricum imperatorem benedixit et Agnetem.

[P]opo Damasus qui fuit Aquileiensis presul sedit anno uno.

Leo Lotharingus sedit annis v. Hic Bruno Tullensis pontifex fuit. In Galliam uenit, Remis ingens concilium tenuit, prisca sanctorum patrum decreta quæ deciderant renouauit, et multa in utroque ordine salubriter et utiliter correxit.

Gebehardus Victor sedit annis iii.

Fridericus Stephanus filius Gothelonis ducis sedit anno uno.

Gerardus Nicholaus qui de Francis primus assumptus est i. 459
sedit annis ii.

Alexander Lucensis sedit annis xi.

Gregorius Hildebrandus a puericia monachus sedit annis xiiii, cuius tempore Henricus imperator Guitbertum Rauennensem intrusit, et expulso papa Romanam æcclesiam ualde turbauit.

[1] From Benedict III to Stephen V Orderic copied from the list of popes, with the length of their pontificates, which precedes the *Liber pontificalis* in Alençon MS. 18, f. 8^{v}, inserting a non-existent Agapitus between Adrian and Stephen V. Thereafter he seems to have compiled the list from his own researches; cf. his history of the archbishops of Rouen (below, iii. 82, 84), where the same popes occur, with the addition of another John, probably John IX. Some references to Agapitus II must have been misdated, since Orderic incorrectly listed three popes of that name in the tenth and early eleventh centuries. From Stephen VIII (939–42) to Benedict VII (974–83) his sequence of popes is correct; for the next half-century only three popes are named, Silvester II, a non-existent Agapitus, and Benedict IX (for correct dates, as far as these have been established, see the list in *Handbook of Dates*, ed. C. R. Cheney (London, 1961), pp. 35–6). A more complete, but not wholly accurate, sequence begins with Clement II, who is credited with much too long a pontificate; see below, iii. 86, and *ASE* (Le Prévost, v. 156–7) for the same information and the same errors.

Desiderius Victor qui Cassiniensis abbas fuit:/ sedit mensibus ii.

Vrbanus Odo qui Cluniacensis monachus fuit et Hostiensis episcopus:/ sedit annis xii, exercitum Christianum in Ierusalem contra paganos direxit.

Paschalis Rainerius qui de Valle Brutiorum fuit monachus:/ sedit annis xi [ ].[1]

Gelasius Iohannes Gaditanus sedit annis duobus.

i. 460 Calixtus Guido filius Guillelmi Burgundionum ducis qui Viennensis fuit archiepiscopus:/ sedit annis vi.

Honorius Lambertus qui fuit Hostiensis episcopus sedit annis v.

Innocentius Gregorius Papiensis sedit annis xii,[2] qui nono papatus sui anno ingens concilium Romæ aggregauit:/ et multa quamuis pauca seruentur constituit.[3]

[1] Hole in MS; Orderic probably wrote *xix*; cf. below, v. 194.

[2] Orderic changed the number *x* to *xii* during revision, probably in the late summer of 1141, when he completed the work; as he frequently counted part of a year as a full year, and there is no clear evidence that he retouched the work after writing the Epilogue at the end of Book XIII, it is unlikely that the revision was as late as 1142.

[3] Cf. below, vi. 528–30, where Orderic comments bitterly that few of the many decrees of the 1139 Lateran Council were observed.

APPENDIX I

Manuscripts copied or annotated by Orderic

Orderic's handwriting has been traced in more than a dozen manuscripts. Some were written throughout by him, others in part. Occasionally he wrote a few lines as a model for other scribes, or corrected copies made by them. His hand occurs in the following manuscripts:[1]

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale

MSS. lat. 5506 (I and II), 10913; the three volumes of Orderic's own *Ecclesiastical History*.

MS. lat. 10062. Sometimes referred to as the chapter-book of Saint-Évroul, it is a composite volume, in which the surviving parts of several books from the library of the abbey have been bound together. They include the *liber memorialis* and necrology, a calendar, and parts of Bede's *De temporum ratione*. Orderic kept up the annals from 1087 to 1140, and also inserted some names of early popes and a few other entries; his hand added some books to the catalogue, names in the *liber memorialis*, and details about two saints (Eusebius and Lawrence) in the calendar (ff. 71, 90^{v}). His hand predominates in the extracts from Bede.

MS. lat. 6503, containing part of a Latin–Greek 'vocabulary', homilies, the lives of some saints, and the legend of the Saxon dancers. Orderic copied ff. 59–70, including some homilies, the Passion of SS. Donatianus and Rogatianus, and the legend of the dancers.

MS. lat. 12131, a collection of works on the Trinity; on ff. 80–82^{v} the letter of Guitmond, abbot of La Croix-Saint-Leufroi to Herfast is copied.[2] Some marginal notes in Orderic's hand

[1] For descriptions of manuscripts, where not otherwise indicated, see L. Delisle, 'Notes sur les manuscrits autographes d'Orderic Vital', which prefaced Delisle, *Matériaux*. The Appendix to this volume contains facsimiles of pages from Bibl. nat. MSS. lat. 5506 (II), lat. 6503, lat. 10062; Alençon MSS. 1, 6, 14, 26; and Rouen MS. 1343. See also above, pp. 118–21.

[2] Cf. below, ii. 271.

include, 'Hunc libellum sapiens Witmundus de Cruce Heltonis monachus ad Erfastum Lirensium abbatem eddidit de sancta trinitate.'[1]

Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale[2]

MS. 1. A copy of some of the prophetic books of the Old Testament. Orderic copied three poems on the blank pages at the end of the Book of Ezechiel: a satire on the times, an act of contrition, and a verse litany. The first and parts of the others were probably of his own composition.[3]

MS. 6; in this Orderic copied several pages of the lives of St. Launomar and SS. Nereus and Achilles.

MS. 14, copied in part from a Winchester manuscript, containing *Lives* of English saints, and miscellaneous documents from other sources. Orderic's hand occurs in the *Life of St. Ethelwold*; it is noteworthy that he used an Anglo-Saxon rune (representing the soft *th*) in three places. Other sections copied by him include the diploma of Charles the Simple for the first monastery of Saint-Évroul, and the *Ordo ad iudicium faciendum*; he made interlinear corrections and added notes in the treatise of Amalarius, *De officiis*.

MS. 26, in which Orderic copied parts of Bede's commentary on Ezra, and a considerable part of a collection of extracts from commentaries on Matthew.

Rouen, Bibliothèque de la Ville[4]

MS. 1174.[5] Orderic copied all the surviving parts of the *Gesta Normannorum ducum* of William of Jumièges; the last folios of this work are lost. He also wrote the verses of the text in a commentary of Angelelmus on the Book of Kings, and corrected other parts of the manuscript.

[1] See G. Morin, in *Revue bénédictine*, xxviii (1911), 95–9.

[2] The MSS. of Alençon are described in the *Catalogue générale des MSS. des départements*, ii.

[3] Printed by L. Delisle, 'Vers attribués à Orderic Vital', *Annuaire bulletin de la société de l'histoire de France* (1863), 2e partie, pp. 1–13.

[4] See H. Omont's description in *Catalogue générale des MSS. des départements*, ii.

[5] Printed in facsimile in Delisle, *Matériaux*.

MS. 1343.[1] Orderic revised ff. 1–33, including the *Gesta saluatoris* (Gospel of Nicodemus); and wrote the whole of the remainder, with the exception of a few lines. This contained Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, the *Life of St. Martin* by Sulpicius Severus, and other saints' lives.

MS. 31.[2] Orderic copied the first folios of the *Liber pontificalis*, and added marginal notes elsewhere in the manuscript.

St. John's College, Oxford

MS. 17, a Thorney manuscript. Orderic's hand added St. Évroul's name in the calendar (f. 21ᵛ).

[1] See L. Delisle, *Journal des Savants*, August 1903, pp. 428–40.
[2] Described by L. Duchesne, *Liber pontificalis*, i, p. clxxxi.

APPENDIX II

The earliest Vita sancti Ebrulfi

The three versions of the *Vita sancti Ebrulfi* are discussed below, iii. 363–4. *Vita A* (1), the earliest of the three, which may date from the eighth century, is here printed from a manuscript of St. Augustine's Canterbury, written between 1100 and 1130 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Fell 2, pp. 432–9).[1] Variant readings are given from a manuscript of the later twelfth century (Hereford Cathedral Library, MS. P 7. vi. ff. 223^{r}–225^{v} (*H*)); minor variants, such as *e* for *æ* are omitted.

Omnipotens dominus inter cætera sanctorum miracula sua diuina mysteria per electos monachos non est dedignatus ostendere. [a]Igitur fuit uir quidam nobilis ab illustribus parentibus ortus in Baiocasina urbe, Ebrulfus nomine, in aula regia nutritus. Tantamque ei dominus a iuuentute sua gratiam boni operis contulit ut propter humilitatis officium magnum in palatio habuisset locum, sicuti exortationis causa nobis[b] narrare solitus erat. Cumque esset secularibus opulentiis atque rebus plurimis stipatus, litterisque bene peritus et amator sapientiæ, adaucto sibimet diuinitus feruore diuinas scripturas per diuinos codices legere cœpit quatinus[c] cognosceret priscorum patrum gesta, ut in ipsorum opere posset inuenire qualiter[d] Deo placere meruisset. Quique cum sancti legeret uerba Euangelii ubi dominus dixit, 'Qui uult uenire post me, abneget semetipsum, [e]tollat crucem suam et sequatur me'; et iterum ubi intonans ueritas pollicetur quod 'qui reliquerit domum uel fratres uel cognatos uel amicos propter nomen meum, centuplum accipiet et uitam æternam possidebit,' ille non sicut surdus auditor compunctus intrinsecus imbutusque superna Dei gratia sicut apostolus loquitur, 'quia per spiritum datur sermo sapientiæ', et iterum, 'Spiritus ubi uult spiret', secutus hæc omnia

[1] A note on the *Vita*, including the text, was accepted for publication in the *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie* in 1971; but since the publication of the *Bulletin* has been so long delayed and the substance of the *Vita* is important for the history of the first monastery of Saint-Évroul an edition of the text has been included in this volume.

a *H begins here* *b* nobis *om. H*
c quatinus *supplied from H;* qualiter *in C*
d qualiter *supplied from H;* quatinus *in C* *e* et tollat *H*

relictis rebus omnibus tradidit eas pauperibus. Sed et uxorem propriam derelinquens, tradidit eam ancillis Christi ut eam imbuerent cœlestibus disciplinis, nichilque sibi retinuit ex omnibus quæ ad usum pertinent, metuens sententiam Ananie et Saphire, qui ante pedes apostolorum *f*fraudati agri precio obnoxii et reprobi mortui sunt.

Prefatus autem uir Dei, recordatus quid Paulus egregius prædicator docet dicens, 'expoliantes uos ueterem tunicam et deponentes opera tenebrarum, induimini arma lucis', non solum patriam parentesque dereliquit uel quicquid habere uidebatur in hoc sæculo, uerum etiam barbam et comam sui capitis deposuit, humiliatoque uultu, tribus cum fratribus metuentibus Deum, summa cum uelocitate ad heremum conuolauit, et inter opaca nemorum loca in silua Oxomense[g] latitauit. Sed cum in eandem ingressi fuissent siluam et huc atque illuc per loca uastissima circumirent, non inueniebatur callis opportuna pergendi nisi tamtummodo onagrorum ceruorumque ac bestiarum uia. Sed nimirum quid aliud credere possumus, nisi quod angelus domini eis ducatum præbuisset? Opitulante autem domino inuenti sunt fontes ualde boni, ubi genua flectentes cum gratiarum actione Deo referunt laudes, qui nunquam spernit seruos suos sperantes in se. Expleta autem oratione, nomen domini inuocabant cum capitulo et benedictione, sicut monachorum exposcit ordo. De uirgultis etiam frondium circumcingere claustra paruula sunt aggressi, ubi et in modico tugurio hospitari cœperunt.

Sed dum ibi per aliquod tempus morati fuissent et procul abesset habitatio hominum sæcularium, homo quidam ad eos ueniens miratus eorum acta ait ad eos, 'O monachi, quæ uobis turbationis[h] causa fuit quod huc aduenistis? Vel quomodo præsumpsistis in ista solitudine hospitari? Non optimum locum inuenistis. An nescitis quia iste locus cursus est Sueuorum[i] aliena diripientium? Non diu tuti hic poteritis manere. Arua enim inculta et infructuosa ad laborem exercendum uobis inuenistis'. Et illi ad haec respondentes aiunt, 'Vere, frater, non nos ex ulla usurpatione huc uenimus, sed domini nostri auxilium poscentes peccata nostra deflere. Dominus enim nobiscum est, ideo non timemus minas hominum, quia ipse dixit, "Vbi fuerint duo aut[j] tres congregati in nomine meo, ego sum in medio eorum". Et de labore quem dixisti, potens est dominus seruis suis parare mensam in

[1] The meaning is uncertain; if the reading is correct the term is most probably intended to apply loosely to barbarian peoples in general; the forest of Ouche was not a centre of settlement for the Suevi in the seventh century. The twelfth-century scribe may, however, have misread *sæuorum*, which occurs in a later life, *Vita A* (2), based partly on this one (Alençon MS, 11, f.143).

f pro fraudati *H* *g* Oximense *H* *h* perturbationis *H*
i Sweuorum *H* *j* uel *H*

deserto. Tu autem si nos audire uis, relinque praua opera quæ agis et declina a malo et fac bonum. Dominus enim dixit, "Peccator in quacunque die conuersus fuerit ab iniquitate sua, omnes iniquitates eius obliuioni tradam." ' Tunc ille compunctus in[k] hos sermones reuertens ad propria et mane in crastinum reuersus ad eos, detulit eis tres subcinericios panes et fauum mellis. Refectusque cibo[l] spirituali, relictis omnibus quæ habebat, ibidem deuotus factus est cum eis primus monachus.

Sed dum minime inibi[m] latere possent,[n] quia semper diuina Dei opera per ueros flagrant[o] monachos, diuulgati sunt per uicina loca illa. Nonnulli autem sepius ad eos uenientes, deferebant quæque eis necessaria et oportuna erant, ædificatique remeabant ad propria. Quique ex eis[p] secuti exemplum sancti patris[q] plurimi facti sunt perfectissimi monachi. Sed cum paulatim proficere cœpissent, Deo eis tribuente auxilium, quadam die deficiente copia panis, pauper ad ianuam ueniens postulabat agapem. Venerabilis autem pater ait ad ministrum, 'Da' inquit[r] 'elemosinam inopi'. At ille respondit, 'Non habeo, pater, nisi dimidium panem unde paruuli nostri uel unusquisque modicum quid accipiat'. Et ille ait ad eum, 'Non debes hesitare, file. Non legisti scriptum in psalmis, "Beatus qui intelligit super egeno[s] et paupere,[t] in die mala liberabit[u] eum Dominus"? Nunquam est manus domini a munere uacua, si arca cordis repleta fuerit bona uoluntate'. Egrediente autem paupere cum panis alimento, facto modico interuallo ante solis occasum respiciunt, et ecce pre foribus ante ianuam somarius[v] onustus cum pane et caseo et uino sufficienter, feneratore quodam Christiano illis delegante. Famuli autem Christi immensas domino gratias egerunt, qui multiplicat misericordiam suam in seruis suis et reddit plura pro paucis. Ab illo enim die nunquam defuit eis quicquid necessarium habebant famuli Dei. Denique duo seui latrones ex alia prouincia ad eandem cellam porcos saginatos[w] dum furari uenissent et per ipsam heremum quærentes circumirent fatigati ab itinere audierunt signum sicut mos est monachorum ad horam sonare.[x] Tremefacti itaque et pauore percussi, relictis porcis ad hominem Dei uelociter accedentes, confessi sunt ei[y] crimen quod egerant, factique sunt strenuissimi monachi.

Igitur cum omnipotens Deus bonum certamen eorum fratrum uidisset, roborauit corda eorum ad exemplum boni operis perficiendum. Tunc in plurimis prouinciis cuncti audientes opinionem eorum qualiter studiosissime Deo seruiebant, magnæ et strenuissimæ

k ad *H* *l* ipse cibo *H* *m* ibi *H* *n* ualerent *H*
o fragrant *H* *p* Ex quibus plurimi *H*
q sancti patris exemplum *H* *r* inquit *om. H* *s* egenum *H*
t pauperem *H* *u* liberauit *H* *v* summarius *H*
w saginatos ferentes *H* *x* sonari *H* *y* ei *supplied from H;* rei *in C*

personæ metuentes Deum per exemplum eorum compuncte[z] postulauerunt a sancto et uenerabili patre Ebrulfo ut monasteria ex munificenciis eorum propter Deum ædificaret. Ille autem considerans intra semetipsum qualiter lucrum posset Deo facere, et duplicare in se talenta duo, id est operationem et intellectum quod[a] cognouimus ei a Domino collatum[b] fuisse, monasteria quindecim uirorum seu feminarum secundum normam sanctæ regulæ optitulante domino recto tramite constituit. Dumque hæc omnia Dei fauente gratia complesset, postea reuertens ad cenobium cateruatim cum plurimo agmine monachorum, et ibi tempore non paruo residens, in Dei seruitio immobilis semper[c] permansit.

Erat enim habitatio eius tam uilis ut uideretur tugurium esse pastorum. Fratres uero in circumitu eius commanebant cellulis inter se diuisis, habitantes per dextras mille quingentas in unaquaque parte. Ipse uero circumibat cellulas eorum frequenter, sedens mulo uel asino.[1]

Cumque completus esset annus uicesimus laboris eorum et uicesimi secundi meta appropinquaret, in eodem monasterio ab[d] incursione inimici et insidiatoris generis humani, qui contra opus bonum semper est inuidus, ruinosa mors et clades pestifera affuit. Supradictus autem uir Dei non sicut mercennarius qui[e] in medio luporum derelictis ouibus in fugam uertitur,[f] sed ut uerus pastor certamen cum eis iniuit, cupiens illud implere quod dicit apostolus, 'Gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus'. Beatus autem[g] pater ita exorsus est ad fratres, 'O karissimi fratres et dulcissima uiscera mea, roborate corda uestra et estote parati; uiriliter agite et confortamini in Domino, scientes quod tribulatio patientiam operatur. Apprehendite armaturam milicie cœlestis,[h] Dei gratiam, scutum fidei galeamque spem salutis, et renouamini spiritu mentis uestræ, ut possitis pugnare contra hostem inuisibilem, qui ouile domini irrumpere conatur. Sit uobis cor unum et anima una in domino. Ecce enim appropinquat uocatio nostra, in qua manifestabuntur opera nostra, ubi recipere habet unusquisque prout gessit, siue bonum siue malum. Vigilate itaque et orate, quia nescitis diem neque horam. Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma. Videte ne sponsus reuertens ad nuptias

[1] The monks appear to have lived in huts of the *lauræ* type, scattered in a circle about 2½ kilometres in diameter. See M. Chibnall, 'The Merovingian monastery of St. Évroul in the light of conflicting traditions', *Popular Belief and Practice* (*Studies in Church History*, viii), ed. Derek Baker (Cambridge, 1972), p. 34.

z compuncte *supplied from H;* compuncti *in C* *a* que *H*
b collata *H* *c* semper *om. H* *d* ex *H* *e* qui *om. H*
f uersus est *H* *g* enim *H*
h milicie *supplied from H; missing in C*

inueniat uos dormientes, sed uigilantes in bonis operibus, ut mereamini audire illud quod dominus in Euangelio loquitur de seruis uigilantibus, "Beatus ille seruus quem cum uenerit dominus eius inuenerit uigilantem".'

Cum autem uelociter interire cœpissent, quadam die unus ex fratribus defunctus est qui nuncupabatur Ansbertus. Ille uero frater qui hunc eundem fratrem defunctum [i]custodiebat, perrexit ad sanctum uirum et dicit ei, 'Ora, pater, pro illo fratre quia iam migrauit.' At ille, 'Accepit[j] sacrificium?' Ait, 'Non'. Abbas autem fremens spiritu, oratione interposita flere cœpit, et ad illius lectum accessit. Cumque eum denudassent ad abluendum, ait sanctus uir, 'Heu, frater, cur discessisti absque communione Christi?' Ille uero quasi a somno lassabundus euigilans, aperiensque oculos paululum, cœpit loqui dicens, 'Tu es, domine?' At ille respondit, 'Ego'. Et ait abbas ad eum, 'Vbi fuisti, frater, uel quid uidisti?' At ille, 'Reuocasti me pater de labore itineris, quo ab aduersario sustinebam cruciatum'. 'Vis', inquit, 'sacrificium accipere?' At ille ait, 'Volo'. Cumque corpus et sanguinem domini accepisset, rursus somno pacis obdormiuit.

Vnus uero ex famulis eiusdem loci natiuitate domini nostri Iesu Christi ablatus est a corpore. Et ait abbas fratribus, 'Eicite extra fores monasterii, si quidem defunctum inueneritis'. At illi obtemperantes magistri precepto, leuantes eum in feretro, detulerunt eum extra monasterium ubi locus erat sepeliendi, ut post expletas missas traderent eum sepulturæ. Cumque ad sepeliendum eum iterum aduenissent, reuersus est spiritus eius in eum, et aperiens oculos interrogauit dicens, 'Vbi sum, aut quomodo huc ueni?'. Qui aiunt ad eum,[k] 'Ad hoc uenimus ut sepeliamus te'. 'Reducite me', inquit, 'ad monasterium. Credo enim quod michi dominus iam tribuat spatium uiuendi'. Recuperatus deinde in suo officio plures uixit annos. In ipso[l] tempore cum tantus inter fratres esset meror et afflictio, migrauerunt ad dominum animæ septuaginta et octo, de familia uero innumeri, sed immensa domini pietas tribuit eis quietem, cessauitque hæc passio. Venerabili autem Ebrulfo tantus erat meror et afflictio ut die noctuque non cessaret creatori suo pro ipsis animabus exorare. Considerabat enim hanc ueram esse caritatem, magis pro anima quam pro corpore laborare.

Consuetudo enim erat sancto uiro ut post collectas fratrum, dum ad lectum suum reuertebatur ad pausandum, ministrum suum ad se silenter uocans, legere rogaret. Erat enim ei summum studium legendi, ut sciret noua et uetera qualiter intelligeret, implens illud quod psalmista dicit, 'In lege domini meditabitur die et nocte'. Spem quippe suam tantum in domino fixam habebat. Et ut omnes cursus compleret,

i defunctum fratrem *H* *j* 'Accepit' inquit *H* *k* ad eum *om. H*
l ipso autem *H*

scilicet Romanum, Gallicanum, Sancti Benedicti, Scotticum seu Sancti Columbani, per diuersa horarum spacia psallebat. Cotidie etiam cum sacerdote oblationes suas domino studebat offerre, et dominico die sacerdotes ante eum tres missas canere solebant. Erat enim uultum habens inclitum atque decoratum canitiæ, repletus caritate, in excubiis fortis, in abstinentia lætus, in tribulatione patiens, in peccante misericors, castus, sobrius atque humilis. Tribus uicibus per annum tondebat comam capitis sui. Non alicui unquam in ultione retribuit mala, sed prospera et aduersa equanimiter tolerabat. Et si aliquis illi[m] de rebus transitoriis aut de quacumque re damnositatem nuntiasset, hoc ei erat in prouerbiis, 'Dominus dedit, dominus abstulit; sit nomen domini benedictum in secula'. Patientia enim mater est omnium uirtutum'. Cum enim[n] ad eum aliqui discordantes accedebant, taliter eos suis sanctis liniebat[o] uerbis, ut concordes ad propria remearent. Omnes[p] uenientes ad eum tam nobiles quam ignobiles, pauperes atque peregrinos, hilari uultu cum gratiarum actione recipiebat, et cum omnibus hominibus lætus esse solebat. Et quando ab ipso discedebant, raro aut uix unquam absque quamuis paruo munusculo illos a se recedere permittebat. Plurimi sæculares febre detenti a ministro uiri Dei postulabant ut funiculos quos ipse cingebat, aut aliquid de uestimentis ipsius accipere mererentur cum benedictione. Et qui ex fide hoc accipiebat ad pristinam reuertebatur sanitatem.

Quædam enim Deo deuota femina, cum egrotare cœpisset, per missos suos petiit fimbrias uestimenti eius. Cum autem accepisset[s] et ipsa incolumis affuit et[t] alii plurimi.

Erat prædictus[u] uir Dei tributarius Deo ex uoto duabus uicibus in anno, ad sanctam domini nostri Iesu Christi natiuitatem, et die tercia ante resurrectionem eius quando cum discipulis discubuit. Tunc enim centum solidos pauperibus erogabat. Alio etiam tempore[v] secundum suam possibilitatem hoc[w] facere consueuerat.

Pauperculus quidem ex alia regione aliquid ab eo accepturus, [x]attenuato corpore ex nimia infirmitate, curuatus supra crura dum[y] inter cæteros aduenisset, ait senior ad eum, 'O frater, quomodo explicare ualuisti tantum iter, ut ad nos uenires cum sis debilis?' Ille ait ad eum, 'Necessitas compulit, domine, ut uenirem gratia alimoniam petendi'. Et ait uir Dei, 'Expedit tibi hic magis residere, quam huc atque illuc uagando carnes tuas canibus dilaniandas tradere'. Sicque in eodem loco permanens, non longo post tempore paulatim cœpit proficere, et agri cultor existens ortum cœpit excolere, ac deinde uerus factus est monachus.

m ille *H* *n* autem *H* *o* leniebat *H* *p* Omnes quoque *H*
s Quas cum accepisset *H* *t* et eius causa *H*
u Erat autem predictus *H* *v* Quod tamen et alio tempore *H*
w hoc *om. H* *x* dum attenuato *H* *y* dum *om. H*

Vir autem domini magno confectus senio, uidelicet octogenarium excedens numerum sicut ab ipso didicimus, optabat se iam a domino recipi. Dicebat enim, 'Infidelis est seruus qui ad præsentiam domini sui uenire[z] recusat'. Denique infirmatus est magna infirmitate, sed spiritu sancto se confortante non sentiebat dolorem, sed tantummodo afflictus iacebat. Abstulit enim ei dominus cibum terrenum et nichil penitus gustare poterat, nisi aquam solam. Post paucos autem dies[a] aduenerunt ad eum quidam magnifici uiri uisitationis causa,[b] et ei inter eulogias uinum detulerunt, ex quo modice sumpsit, et sic sine cibo uixit dies quadraginta et septem, excepto corpore Christi et sanguine. Semper enim quasi satiatus praedicare non cessabat, et uerbum Dei fratribus nuntiare. Cunque ei fratres suaderent ut modicum acciperet cibum, ille respondit, 'Silete fratres, silete. Fastidium[c] michi generatis. Egredimini foras et dimittite me paululum requiescere'. Deinde uertebat se ad parietem, et tantum labia eius mouebantur, sed intrinsecus mens eius cœlo erat intenta. Hoc enim sepius repetebat, 'Domine, clamaui ad te, exaudi me'. Et item, 'Voce mea ad dominum clamaui'. Et iterum, 'A finibus terræ ad te clamaui, domine. Et in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum'.

Igitur cum appropinquaret uocatio eius, ut ad dominum migrare deberet, die quinto decimo ante natiuitatem domini, hora diei tertia, ipsius anima ablata est a corpore. Cumque sacerdotes super eum sicut moris est pro defunctis psalmum *In exitu Israel* canerent, et sanctum euangelium legeretur, atque omnis congregatio in æcclesia psalleret pro eius anima cum fletu ad dominum, et pauperum multitudo adesset more solito ad elemosinam accipiendam, modico facto interuallo, reuersus est spiritus[d] in eum. Tribus[e] uicibus hoc factum est in die.

Cum autem fratres corpus illius abluendi studio festinarent, semiuiuus palpitare cœpit, sicque usque ad uesperam mansit immobilis, sicuti[f] legitur in cantico Annæ, 'Dominus mortificat et uiuificat, deducit ad inferos et reducit. Ego occidam et ego uiuere faciam. Ego percutiam et[g] sanabo, et non est qui de manu mea possit eruere.' Recuperato autem paululum spiritu, postea diebus decem et octo in carne uixit et omne uotum suum in pauperes adimpleuit. Sed et per plura monasteria iuxta qualitatem uniuscuiusque elemosinam est largitus. Transacta autem natiuitate domini nostri Iesu Christi, quarto kalendas Ianuarii, anno duodecimo Hildeberti[h] regis, finito labore et erumna huius sæculi, inter quintam et sextam horam ualedicens fratribus, cum alacritate et uultu angelico Abrahæ in sinu receptus migrauit ad dominum. Fratres autem cum magno studio eum

z reuenire *H* *a* Hos paucos ante dies *H* *b* gratia *H*
c Fastidium enim *H* *d* spiritus eius *H* *e* Tribus autem *H*
f sicut *H* *g* percutiam et *supplied from H; missing in C*
h Childeberti *H*

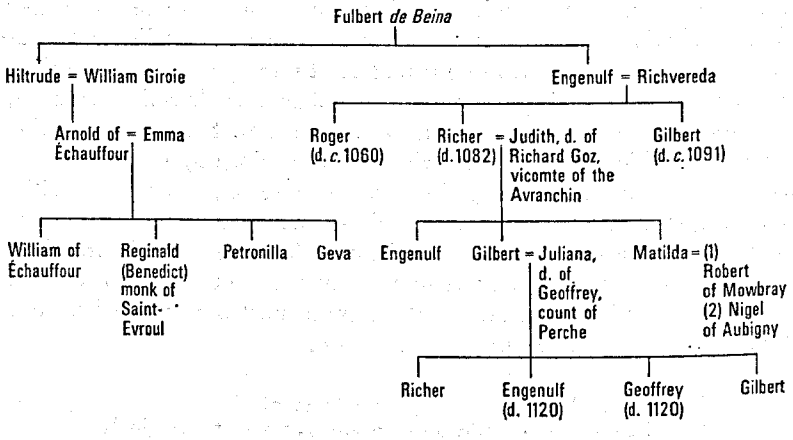
in æcclesiam deportantes, diebus tribus ac noctibus cum psalmis et ymnis sanctum corpus custodientes, expectabant conuentum seruorum Dei.

Sed illud memoriale[i] miraculum quod uiri Dei meritis actum est reticendum non est. Quidam diaconus in eodem loco degens, sancto uiro carus propter meritum sanctitatis et humilitatis gratiam et religionem, cum fletu magno dicebat, 'Cur, pater, me in aliorum manus reseruas? Non merui ut ante me sepulturæ traderes, quam de hac luce migrasses?' Denique eadem nocte qua uigiliæ agebantur circumcisionis domini nostri Iesu Christi, quando sepeliendum erat sanctum corpus in crastino cum magno studio seruorum Dei qui ad sepeliendum eum undique confluxerunt,[j] diaconus ille emisit spiritum, et ambo pariter ad sepeliendum sunt deportati. Sicque uenerabilis pater in basilica beati Petri principis apostolorum, quam ipse ex lapidibus dudum ædificauerat, in saxo marmoreo cum decore sepultus est. Magna denique miracula dominus per seruum suum operari dignatus est, quod longum est explicare. Hoc tamen nobis orandum est, ut si illi uirtutibus equari non possumus, saltem consortes eius esse mereamur in cœlis, adiuuante domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui uiuit et regnat in[k] secula seculorum. Amen.

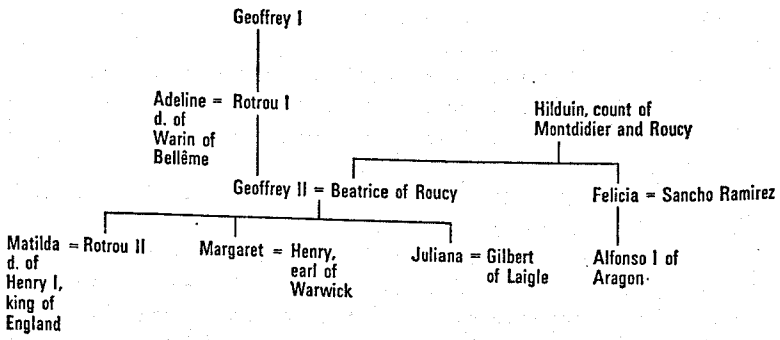
i memorabile *H* *j* confluxerant *H*
k qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat Deus in *H*

GENEALOGICAL TABLES[1]

The family of Laigle

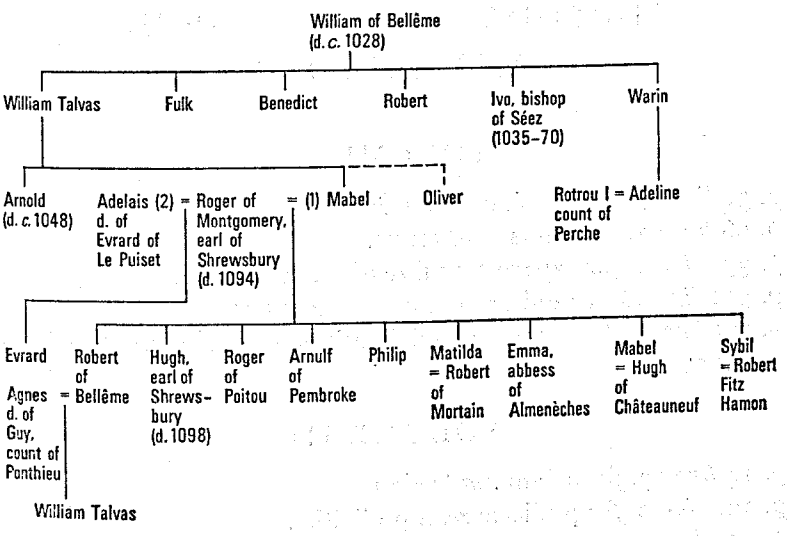

Fulbert de Beina
Hiltrude = William Giroie
Engenulf = Richvereda
Arnold of Échauffour = Emma
Roger (d. c. 1060)
Richer (d. 1082) = Judith, d. of Richard Goz, vicomte of the Avranchin
Gilbert (d. c. 1091)
William of Échauffour
Reginald (Benedict) monk of Saint-Evroul
Petronilla
Geva
Engenulf
Gilbert = Juliana, d. of Geoffrey, count of Perche
Matilda = (1) Robert of Mowbray (2) Nigel of Aubigny
Richer
Engenulf (d. 1120)
Geoffrey (d. 1120)
Gilbert

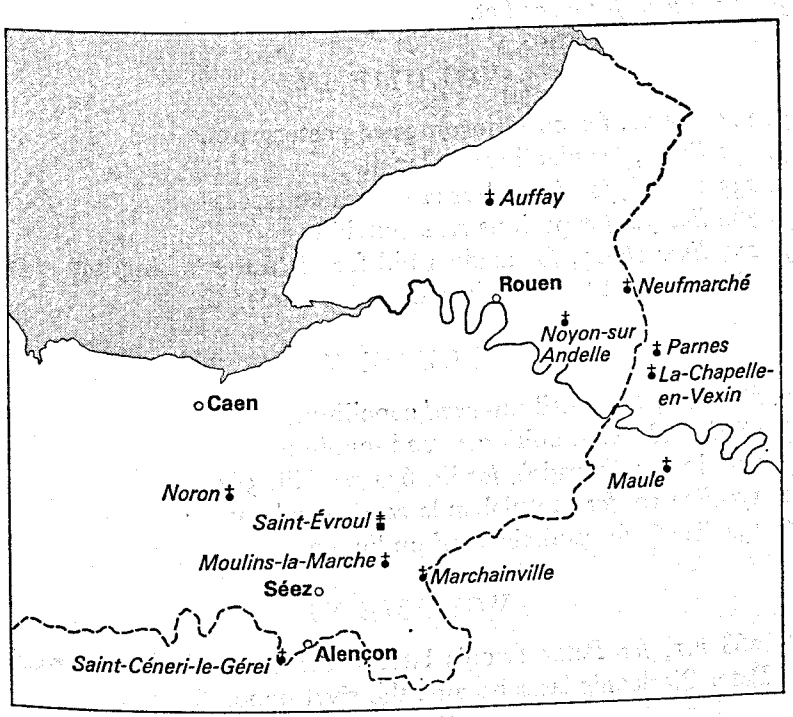
The Counts of Perche


Geoffrey I
Adeline = Rotrou I
d. of Warin of Bellême
Hilduin, count of Montdidier and Roucy
Geoffrey II = Beatrice of Roucy
Felicia = Sancho Ramirez
Matilda = Rotrou II
d. of Henry I, king of England
Margaret = Henry, earl of Warwick
Juliana = Gilbert of Laigle
Alfonso I of Aragon

[1] A table for the family of Giroie will be found below, ii, facing p. 370; and one for the family of Auffay, below, iii, facing p. 366.

The family of Bellême





Saint-Évroul and its Norman and French Priories

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA VOLS. II TO VI

VOLUME II

p. 31 *line* 1, *for* St. Céneri *read* Sainte-Scholasse.
p. 96 *line* 21, *for* tenns *read* tenus.
p. 330 *line* 7, *for* rapace scorui *read* rapaces corui.
p. 330 *line* 28, *for* uidu æante *read* uiduæ ante.
p. 363 *line* 35, *for* Willelmod eficientibus *read* Willelmo deficient-tibus.

VOLUME III

p. 14 *line* 13, *for* ædam *read* ædem.
p. 122 *line* 2, *for* pudiceæ *read* pudicitiæ.
p. 194 *line* 7, *for* e *read* et.

VOLUME IV

p. 104 *line* 20, *for* posteriorum *read* posterorum.
p. 172 *line* 2, *for* plebii *read* plebeii.
p. 233 *line* 26, *for* defenders *read* assailants.
p. 262 *line* 32, *for* putidus *read* putridus.
p. 277 *lines* 16–17, *for* made a bid for his father's kingdom *read* tried to wrest the kingdom from his uncle.

VOLUME V

p. 28 *line* 1, *for* consilium *read* concilium.
p. 98 *line* 18, *for* munitiones *read* muniones.
p. 118 line 21 (margin), *for* iii. 654 *read* iii. 564.
p. 150 *line* 10, *for* gratulabanda *read* gratulabunda.
p. 154 *line* 6, *for* pudiciæ *read* pudicitiæ.

VOLUME VI

p. 268 *n.*1, *for* Peter Leonis later became the rival pope *read* Peter Pierleonis later became the rival pope.

p. 282 *line* 27, *for* consilium *read* concilium.

p. 410 *line* 10, *for* obsidioemn *read* obsidionem.

p. 546 *line* 21, *for* diliciisque *read* deliciisque.

p. 554 *n.*2, *add* The reference to the vine of Sorec (Soreth) may be an echo of the liturgy; cf. the tract after the eighth prophecy before the mass of Holy Saturday in the Old Latin (Itala) version of Isaiah v. 1–2, 'et plantauit uineam Soreth'.

Throughout the edition, *for* Saint-Léonard-le-Noblac *read* Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat.

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NOTE ON THE *INDEX VERBORUM*

THE index that follows consists of between a quarter and a third of the words used by Orderic in his *Ecclesiastical History*. It includes the most unusual words in his vocabulary, in particular grecisms, technical terms, and the words that are either not in Lewis and Short's Latin Dictionary or are used in a non-classical sense. In addition it is intended as a subject index and as a guide to Orderic's use of language, and therefore includes:

(*1*) Words relating to social ranks and classes; to warfare, armies, weapons, fortifications; economic life and property; law and government; ecclesiastical organization; monastic life; architecture; the liturgy; learning and schools.

(*2*) Words characteristic of Orderic's style and terminology; e.g. a large selection of his unusual adverbs and composite words; words (e.g. *castrensis*, *cenobialis*, *fraudulentus*) that he used as both nouns and adjectives; words that he used synonymously though they were developing more precise and different technical meanings (e.g. *pagus*, *prouincia*, *comitatus*).

Varied meanings have been indicated, where possible, by sub-headings; but Orderic's language when he is not citing documents is inclined to be non-technical, and words may be used with a double meaning, or with different meanings in different places. In indicating age, for instance, he does not consistently observe the rough limits proposed by Isidore; oblate monks may be called both *infantes* and *pueri*; the same person at the same date may be called *adolescentulus* and *iuuenis*; Robert Curthose is even called *iuuenis* when first betrothed to Margaret of Maine, *adolescentulus* after her death, and *puer* still later, in 1068 (a reversal of the normal order).

In describing towns, Orderic normally used *ciuitas* only of the more important towns (such as cathedral cities, provincial centres, and large towns in the crusader states), *oppidum* most frequently of walled or fortified towns; *burgus* of small towns, including rural *bourgs*; but there are occasional exceptions. Moreover, *urbs*, which occurs over four hundred times, may be applied to almost any town, including London, Rouen and Rome, as

well as small towns like Courcy; and in copying from Baudry of Bourgeuil Orderic frequently substituted *urbs* for *ciuitas*. *Consul* and *comes* are used interchangeably, but *comes palatinus* and *consul palatinus* are applied only to the counts of Blois in France and Odo of Bayeux in England. *Pontifex*, *præsul* and *antistes* may be used of any bishop; *primas* is applied to the archbishops of both Canterbury and York as well as to the archbishops of Lyons and Mainz.

Often, therefore, however desirable sub-sections might seem, it has been quite impossible to provide them. Where sub-headings have been given, words used with a double meaning may be entered in two places (e.g. *claustrum*, v. 6.22, where both spiritual seclusion and enclosed monastic buildings seem to be implied). Words such as *homo* and *uir*, which occur hundreds of times, may be included to complete a cross-reference, either with a simple entry *passim*, or with full references only to their use in a technical sense (e.g. 'vassal'). Computer tapes of the whole work are available in the Literary and Linguistic Computing Centre at Cambridge, and reference may be made to these for further details of any words omitted here.

Had I had the advantage of the computer concordance when I began work on the translation, I would have interpreted a few words, particularly in the earlier books, differently. Where the meaning given in the index differs from my translation this should be read as a correction of the translation.

Although, in accordance with the convention of the Oxford Medieval Texts, both 'j' and 'i' are printed as 'i', and 'u' and 'v' as 'u' in the lower and 'V' in the upper case, the alphabetical arrangement of the index treats them as different letters: thus, for example, *uaco* (*vaco*) follows *uxor*, *iaculor* (*jaculor*) follows *itineror*, and *auium* (*avium*) follows *auxiliatrix*.

Orderic's spelling has been retained even when it is eccentric. Sometimes he coined a word, or used one in an unusual sense; this in indicated in footnotes in the main body of the text.

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aculeus, a goad: v. 16.14
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adbreuio, to shorten, abridge: i. 179.31, 187.10; ii. 4.1; iii. 304.28; v. 188.17; vi. 336.18
additamentum, something added: iii. 50.2
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adeps, fat (as food): iv. 324.27
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adolescentulus, young, adolescent: i. 151.5; ii. 248.26; iii. 64.4, 182.9; vi. 304.15, 330.13
adonai, the Lord: i. 173.7; ii. 298.2; iii. 334.10; v. 376.22; vi. 170.19, 448.1, 498.33, 554.2
adonicus, adonic: iii. 18.19; iv. 312.10
adulatorius, flattering, obsequious: v. 36.18

adultus, having reached the age for knighthood: iii. 324.9; v. 282.21; vi. 190.26
aduenticius, a newcomer: v. 72.30
æquanimiter, equanimiter, calmly, with equanimity: iii. 38.14; v. 46.13, 56.28
æquipollentia, the equivalence: vi. 86.32
ær, the air, the sky: ii. 328.6, 336.6; iii. 344.8; iv. 266.11, 316.31; v. 78.22, 130.8, 136.3; vi. 226.27, 296.30
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æs, bronze: iv. 18.21; vi. 480.3
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affabilis, gracious, friendly, kind: ii. 24.28, 170.21, 296.8; iii. 340.5; iv. 14.5; v. 238.28; vi. 150.24, 268.22
affabilitas, kindness, courtesy: ii. 126.31, 210.11, 296.24; vi. 312.27
affamen, address, salutation: iv. 246.28
affectuose, benevolently, earnestly: ii. 256.15; iv. 310.16
affectuosus, benevolent: v. 360.5
affinitas, alliance by marriage: iv. 278.29; vi. 50.13, 130.5
agape, charity, alms, banquet: ii. 54.1; iii. 276.7; v. 236.11
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agger, rampart: ii. 176.16; v. 230.29; vi. 346.27, 376.7
agilis, nimble, swift: ii. 24.28; iii. 346.1; iv. 50.12, 136.8, 144.8, 238.6; v. 218.31
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agonitheta (1) champion in war: iv. 22.14, 136.13; (2) spiritual champion: iii. 144.7; iv. 310.20; vi. 316.2

agonizo, to struggle, suffer: ii. 224.10; iii. 280.10; v. 108.4, 324.13; vi. 116.1

agripenna, arpent, measure of land: iii. 126.7, 174.5; v. 268.3; *see also* aripennis, arpenta

alacer, glad, eager: ii. 60.23, 174.2; iii. 212.17, 340.4; v. 110.26, 158.25, 174.7, 238.23, 256.15; vi. 14.12, 66.25, 126.27, 230.18, 242.24

alacritas, liveliness, joy: ii. 234.14; iii. 274.14; vi. 156.23, 254.14, 268.22, 300.8, 556.1

alacriter, eagerly, briskly, quickly: ii. 132.23, 174.19, 282.11, 356.6; iii. 8.9, 10.23, 100.27, 218.19, 320.6, 344.39; iv. 12.10, 174.17, 214.19, 218.10, 236.18, 292.27, 306.15; v. 18.20, 46.20, 118.17, 140.26, 232.6, 240.4, 254.32, 288.9, 294.19, 306.12, 324.6, 362.2; v. 50.31, 70.10, 108.21, 120.14, 124.20, 130.22, 166.16, 362.26, 398.21, 416.29, 498.31

albedo, whiteness: iv. 162.23

albeolus, youth, young noble: i. 157.21; vi. 164.3, 300.1

albico, to be white: v. 182.2

alienigena, foreigner: ii. 212.2, 214.2, 220.23; v. 56.5, 58.25, 348.15, 362.27, 374.15; vi. 120.15, 168.9, 384.11

alienigenus, foreign, alien: v. 98.32

aliena, (pl.), the property of others: ii. 154.10; iii. 198.32, 212.28, 256.4, 346.28; v. 272.26

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alienus (adj.), belonging to, concerned with, others; foreign: ii. 94.14, 112.39, 178.3; iii. 194.22, 198.32, 232.15, 316.31; iv. 20.24, 78.19; v. 32.14, 40.14, 224.10, 226.12; vi. 270.6, 284.10, 452.13, 458.18, 526.25, 532.24; **æs alienum,** a loan: iii. 102.22; iv. 108.2

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allego, to relate, allege: iii. 48.16; v. 198.22; vi. 258.19, 304.29

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alodium, an alod, alodial land: ii. 32.22; vi. 270.30
alonaxdi, alonazontes (pl.), monks: vi. 146.4, 146.16
altrix, native: ii. 196.13
amarico, to embitter: v. 66.20
ambidexter, ambidextrous: v. 250.27
amicabiliter, in a friendly fashion, kindly: ii. 56.25, 62.30, 68.30, 126.9, 164.30, 182.12, 220.6, 272.33; iii. 114.4; iv. 32.7, 268.27; v. 34.16, 120.25, 278.18, 286.11; vi. 14.17, 90.26, 222.8, 252.13, 288.8, 420.6
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anceps, two-headed, dubious: ii. 92.6, 218.10; iii. 310.11; v. 148.4
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angligenus (adj.), English: iv. 78.5
angustiosus, very urgent: v. 140.28
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annona, grain: ii. 32.24; iii. 152.26, 174.27, 202.26; v. 116.6, 186.30
annosus, aged, full of years: iii. 6.21, 134.4, 284.13
antemuralis, outer rampart, outwork: v. 330.18
antesignanus, front-line soldier: ii. 228.1
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anus, old woman: i. 136.33; iii. 180.13; v. 312.31; vi. 432.20; *see also* uetula
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apodixis, demonstration, proof: vi. 52.29
apoplexia, apoplexy, a stroke: vi. 148.28
aporio, to ruin, deprive: v. 270.14; vi. 406.12
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aranea, spider: vi. 176.18
arator, ploughman: ii. 52.18
aratrum, plough, ploughshare: v. 16.11; vi. 384.13; **terra aratri,** ploughland: ii. 32.27, 152.32; iii. 140.2, 152.30
arbiter, judge, eye-witness: ii. 220.28, 274.4, 294.2, 350.29; iii. 134.31, 292.16; iv. 176.18; v. 204.14, 318.30; vi. 100.9, 270.27
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arcagium, (?) contribution to, or payment for use of, coffer: iii. 152.23
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architectus, architect: iii. 240.18; iv. 290.16

architenens, archer: vi. 350.24; *see also* archearius, sagittarius

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area, open space, site, battle-field: ii. 178.15; iii. 184.10, 186.10, 332.14; iv. 102.3, 106.9, 108.1

arena, sand: v. 58.22, 106.8, 336.2

argenteus (adj.), silver: ii. 56.30, 60.36, 62.34, 198.5; iii. 66.25, 220.28, 232.3, 242.4, 342.7; iv. 70.23, 72.21; v. 376.24

argentum, silver, money: ii. 216.14; iii. 24.2, 102.24, 128.23, 134.13, 146.21, 148.15, 158.8, 164.3, 230.12, 242.2, 320.9, 322.3, 322.15, 338.7; iv. 70.9, 70.19, 72.27, 94.28, 110.18, 110.21, 116.3, 120.2, 224.31, 286.14; v. 26.35, 32.34, 62.28, 182.2, 186.30, 188.2, 200.9, 208.6, 208.12, 208.16, 214.24, 224.25, 228.20, 278.30, 280.4, 280.27; vi. 12.25, 18.21, 50.8, 72.23, 116.22, 166.1, 240.29, 248.19, 278.21, 384.18, 434.9, 464.5, 482.20

argute, subtly: ii. 260.4

argutiæ (pl.), subtlety, shrewdness: iv. 290.32; v. 298.10

argutus, ingenious, cunning: iii. 182.1; iv. 98.27, 172.5, 320.17; v. 234.19; vi. 166.2, 274.3

aripennis, a measure of a vineyard: iii. 190.5, 192.2; *see also* agripenna, arpenna

arithmetica, arithmetic: iii. 20.33

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aro, to plough: iii. 30.33; iv. 258.34; v. 20.16

arpenta, arpent, measure of land: ii. 36.31; iii. 200.28, 202.34; *see also* agripenna, aripennis

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arula, a small altar: iii. 322.3

arundo, reed: ii. 328.25; iii. 12.31

aruum, field, earth: ii. 350.17; iii. 90.22, 272.8; iv. 172.22, 336.27; v. 16.12, 232.29, 270.18; vi. 60.1

arx, tower, citadel, castle: ii. 196.1, 298.2, 306.9, 328.16, 350.20, 358.18, 358.21; iii. 82.12, 208.24; iv. 20.11, 42.32, 114.26, 144.38, 150.29, 198.22, 198.24, 202.29, 204.3, 204.5, 222.28, 224.18, 226.12, 244.26, 286.12, 286.30, 288.3, 290.9, 290.16, 290.20, 300.14, 338.2; v. 138.13, 166.5, 172.27, 254.11, 254.19, 290.12, 290.31, 302.8, 302.23, 304.1, 304.5, 304.19, 304.31, 304.32, 306.3, 310.28, 312.15, 348.2, 362.11, 362.13, 362.18, 364.27, 364.30, 366.21, 370.4; vi. 92.24, 114.3, 116.2, 116.8, 116.19, 118.18, 118.26, 122.27, 122.29, 122.32, 178.28, 182.22, 188.24, 204.4, 204.11, 208.9, 220.2, 228.35, 230.18, 260.19, 278.2, 286.33, 332.29, 334.30, 346.25, 348.1, 354.23, 374.9, 466.21, 466.29, 470.17, 472.27, 492.9, 518.9, 538.17, 538.21, 540.7, 540.22; *see also* castrum, castellum, dangio, munitio, oppidum, præsidium, turris

asciola, hammer, little axe: iv. 60.21

asilum, asilium, sanctuary, refuge: ii. 66.8; iii. 208.27; iv. 28.24; 292.1; v. 184.15, 328.26; vi. 344.12

aspernabilis, despicable: v. 96.14

assecla, servant, attendant: i. 168.3; ii. 358.7; iii. 96.22; vi. 14.1, 82.5, 118.29, 292.20, 340.24, 532.25

assultor, assailant: iv. 232.24

astrologus, astrologer: ii. 134.15

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astructio, demonstration: ii. 252.14

astruo, to demonstrate: i. 138.17; iv. 240.22

atauus, ancestor: v. 152.2; vi. 396.27

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aucupor, to go hawking: vi. 108.1

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audientia, hearing, assembly of listeners: ii. 56.8; iii. 218.9; v. 262.13

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aulicus (adj.), belonging to the court: vi. 288.11; 300.20

auricularius, confidant, counsellor: iii. 142.14; v. 260.9, 316.32; *see also* consiliarius

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aurifrasium, orphrey: iii. 240.14

auriga, charioteer: ii. 296.17; v. 204.27

autenticus, original, authentic: i. 150.16, 169.4, 195.6; ii. 2.10; iii. 144.1, 218.7; iv. 318.30; vi. 254.24, 254.28

autumo, affirm, declare, suppose, believe: iii. 212.10, 322.22; iv. 34.14, 278.17, 312.14; v. 52.29, 242.1, 288.27; vi. 204.6, 206.4, 364.32, 546.7

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babilonicus, (*1*) Babylonian: iv. 122.26; (*2*) Egyptian: v. 86.3, 152.17, 176.8, 350.25, 350.32
baco, salted carcass of hog: vi. 176.3
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badinola, a litter: vi. 474.8
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balistarius, cross-bowman, man operating siege-catapult: iii. 306.28; v. 138.12, 242.6, 254.20; vi. 76.10
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basiliscus, basilisk: vi.10.36
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bellatrix (sb.), she-warrior: vi. 214.11

bellatrix (adj.), militant, warlike: iv. 214.3

bellicose, in a warlike manner: v. 202.3

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beluinus, brutal, of a beast: iv. 142.13; v. 16.12, 196.11; vi. 518.23
benedico, to bless: *passim, see also* consecro, dedico
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cenobialis, cœnobialis (adj.) pertaining to a monastery: ii. 134.9; iii. 10.32, 156.35, 284.9; iv. 54.20, 104.16, 214.25; v. 212.13
cenobita, cœnobita, monk, member of a religious order: i. 130.32; ii. 2.31, 18.4, 54.19, 62.6, 66.37, 78.26, 190.24, 242.15, 242.33, 248.8, 250.32, 294.5, 296.20, 300.1; iii. 144.22, 302.21, 314.28; iv. 70.25, 86.1, 164.21, 172.28, 252.15, 304.34, 308.5, 320.30, 322.11, 326.21, 336.12; v. 260.31; vi. 74.2, 312.33, 340.17, 488.24; *see also* monachus, sanctimonialis
cenobium, cœnobium, monastery, monastic house of monks, nuns, or regular canons: i. 130.16, 159.8, 160.13; ii. 4.9, 4.14, 6.14, 8.18, 8.25, 8.27, 10.13, 10.23, 10.26, 12.15, 12.24, 14.2, 14.4, 14.6, 16.3, 16.15, 16.16, 16.22, 30.31, 32.22, 34.2, 34.15, 34.21, 34.28, 36.3, 36.4, 36.12, 36.20, 36.26, 38.8, 38.11, 40.28, 42.38, 44.6, 44.7, 44.17, 44.20, 46.17, 46.27, 48.5, 48.28, 54.9, 54.33, 66.1, 70.7, 74.38, 84.10, 86.24, 92.14, 92.32, 94.22, 94.36, 100.21, 100.27, 100.31, 102.14, 106.33, 106.38, 110.2, 114.13, 114.29, 118.29, 128.33, 128.37, 148.1, 150.7, 186.8, 190.20, 190.29, 192.11, 196.26, 196.33, 208.19, 216.10, 238.30, 240.25, 242.23, 244.17, 248.11, 254.21, 266.3, 270.17, 282.19, 282.20, 292.16, 292.26, 294.21, 298.15, 322.29, 338.33, 342.33, 344.10, 346.2, 346.31, 350.2, 354.6; iii. 10.1, 10.28, 12.14, 46.7, 60.20, 62.28, 80.19, 82.31, 84.25, 88.25, 90.39, 104.12, 116.18, 128.11, 128.21, 130.23, 138.25, 142.6, 142.26, 164.11, 184.37, 226.3, 228.3, 230.34, 234.1, 234.25, 246.20, 268.13, 280.20, 286.30, 288.21, 288.23, 302.20, 302.27, 308.29, 314.26, 322.9, 338.7, 338.26, 342.31, 344.30; iv. 14.8, 18.23, 22.21, 38.21, 44.15, 46.5, 54.18, 66.21, 68.30, 70.3, 70.12, 70.31, 80.3, 92.2, 98.31, 112.7, 116.26, 136.17, 142.10, 142.11, 156.11, 164.19, 166.11, 168.29, 174.26, 180.6, 212.5, 212.11, 234.31, 254.5, 254.19, 256.4, 256.11, 272.13, 288.1, 288.4, 294.9, 296.14, 300.22, 302.25, 304.32, 306.32, 310.27, 312.19, 312.21, 316.24, 318.33, 322.9, 330.2, 332.23, 334.6, 336.28; v. 10.12, 170.17, 190.2, 202.22, 210.24, 210.31, 212.16, 220.6, 246.1, 250.19, 262.9, 284.21, 296.19, 314.22, 320.15; vi. 34.7, 40.5, 74.4,

82.8, 96.19, 138.11, 140.27, 148.25, 150.5, 152.11, 154.18, 168.15, 170.12, 188.9, 198.29, 270.30, 278.25, 284.22, 306.29, 318.1, 318.6, 328.2, 330.12, 358.17, 394.15, 412.9, 418.14, 426.4, 448.15, 464.23, 466.5, 486.30, 530.6, 536.20, 538.2, 552.20, 554.15; *see also* abbatia, cella, cellula, cœnobiolum, monasterium, prioratus

cenosus, muddy, filthy: ii. 328.1, 338.27; iv. 108.9; v. 352.23; vi. 292.15; *see also* cenulentus

censor, (*1*) judge: i. 149.29, 187.2; ii. 320.17; iv. 158.22, 240.33; v. 370.25; vi. 18.10, 354.32, 488.19; (*2*) Roman censor: vi. 236.14; *see also* iudex

census, (*1*) revenue, rent, wealth in money: ii. 60.13, 62.24; iii. 174.4, 190.15, 200.21, 248.35, 250.26; iv. 70.19, 244.23, 298.25, 300.28; v. 234.19, 250.22; vi. 50.22, 218.19, 302.28, 306.11; (*2*) census: i. 134.22

centuria, troop of a hundred knights: vi. 348.14, 374.28

centurio, military captain: ii. 260.13; iv. 214.16, 282.10; v. 214.14; vi. 158.10, 466.16; *see also* chiliarchus, tribunus

cenulentus, foul: iv. 254.30; *see also* cenosus

cerastes, horned serpent: vi. 10.37

cerritus, *see* cirritus

certamen, (*1*) battle, conflict: ii. 12.8, 142.3, 202.17, 214.17, 228.34, 266.8, 308.34; iii. 88.8, 304.29; iv. 18.13, 22.14, 28.2, 28.15, 88.19, 138.25, 160.33, 200.4, 202.17, 214.3, 224.7; v. 60.5, 60.10, 78.15, 128.5, 312.35, 314.20, 330.30, 360.16, 368.1, 378.9; vi. 88.7, 90.7, 166.17, 182.15, 234.25, 240.1, 292.21, 334.27, 366.20, 396.26, 400.14, 410.17, 484.23, 496.8, 500.14, 508.3, 542.18; (*2*) spiritual struggle: ii. 274.9, 326.2; iii. 268.23, 280.1, 292.9; iv. 6.13; vi. 402.12; *see also* bellum, conflictus, guerra, prælium

certator, spiritual fighter: vi. 488.30

ceruicositas, stubbornness, obstinacy: ii. 80.39, 202.6; iv. 76.4; v. 154.25; vi. 248.22, 392.4

cespes, land, earth: ii. 20.23, 322.23; iii. 108.1; iv. 86.24, 106.13, 292.22; vi. 356.7

cheries, 'cheer', countenance: iii. 350.19

chiliarchus, military leader: iv. 282.10; *see also* centurio, tribunus

chorea, chorus, v. 166.8

chorus, (*1*) choir (of singers): ii. 128.10; iii. 18.17; iv. 146.9, 266.8; v. 284.25; vi. 276.5, 292.19; (*2*) choir (architectural, of church): iv. 44.17, 104.32; vi. 154.19, 450.18; (*3*) chorus: i. 155.31

chrisma, crisma, chrism: i. 166.19; ii. 286.17, 286.18, 286.20; vi. 238.33

chronographia, chronographya, cronographya, chronicle: i. 132.3, 138.4, 150.18, 152.1, 162.23, 191.1; ii. 186.15; iii. 214.21; iv. 312.12; *see also* annales, cronica, historia

chronographus, chronicler: ii. 186.10; v. 190.14; *see also* historiographus, historicus

ciclus, cycle; **paschalis ciclus,** Easter cycle: iii. 56.13

cimba, boat, skiff: iv. 222.35; vi. 546.1; *see also* nauis, scapha

cimiterium, cemetery, outer sanctuary: ii. 154.6; iii. 28.26, 28.28, 30.2, 30.4, 30.10, 30.12,

cimiterium (*cont.*): 132.3, 152.21, 152.22, 286.30; iv. 216.6; v. 284.19; vi. 292.22, 454.26, 492.14, 528.7; *see also* atrium
cinctorium, girdle: iii. 296.26, 322.4
cippus, foot-iron, shackle: vi. 112.10
circata, visitation dues: iii. 32.9
circumitio, wandering: iii. 108.8
circumitus, area around, neighbourhood: v. 72.2, 220.14, 256.21, 354.11, 366.23, 370.8; vi. 166.14, 204.22, 348.2, 526.8, 532.13
circumiaceo, to be placed around, lie around: ii. 28.15, 68.21, 78.4; iii. 34.27, 254.12; iv. 48.1, 300.20; v. 120.21, 218.19, 242.26, 274.25, 354.10; vi. 126.20, 148.34, 204.13, 218.7, 244.11, 250.2, 280.30, 342.24, 454.25, 474.15, 512.26
circumsitus, neighbouring, situate around: v. 80.32, 132.3, 220.18; vi. 500.7, 508.23
circumsplendesco, to shine all around: ii. 334.34
circumuallo, to surround, invest, blockade: iii. 326.11; iv. 196.31; v. 32.30, 38.1, 104.24, 106.6, 138.11, 162.1, 216.33, 304.6; vi. 116.18, 214.3, 238.24, 410.4, 504.10, 540.7
cirographus, charter, document: iii. 172.12, 172.33, 184.33, 234.3, 238.21, 286.16; v. 260.28; *see also* carta, cartula
ciroteca, cirotheca, glove: iii. 148.5; iv. 328.8, 328.14, 328.17; v. 312.17
cirritus, cerritus, with crisped hair, crazy: iv. 188.33; vi. 64.20
cisalpinus, cisalpis (sb.), northerner, one from north of the Alps: ii. 280.11, 324.7; iii. 46.24; iv. 190.35, 194.31; v. 4.22, 46.26, 272.11, 326.12, 354.25; vi. 100.23
cisalpinus, cisalpis (adj.), lying on the north of the Alps: ii. 100.13, 144.25, 242.15; vi. 242.19
cista, box, chest: vi. 60.29
ciuilis, civil: iv. 222.22; **ciuile bellum,** civil war: iv. 168.7, 212.15; v. 360.10; vi. 84.24, 132.22, 200.27
ciuilitas, courteousness, affability: ii. 78.7, iii. 48.13
ciuiliter, affably: ii. 256.3
ciuis, citizen, inhabitant of a city: i. 172.8; ii. 56.19, 56.21, 118.10, 180.35, 210.26, 212.28, 222.1, 228.26, 248.24, 306.8, 308.3, 322.7, 322.24; iii. 44.29, 66.9, 150.16, 310.24, 320.22, 320.29, 356.17 (bis), 360.7; iv. 10.11, 12.26, 24.8, 24.11, 24.18, 24.30, 34.4, 56.10, 56.14, 66.29, 68.3, 70.32, 102.21, 154.7, 166.19, 194.5, 220.17, 220.21, 222.16, 222.24, 222.30, 224.5, 224.14, 226.21; v. 30.15, 44.10, 52.26, 52.34, 54.31, 66.7, 66.18, 76.27, 80.26, 86.2, 92.5, 118.18, 120.23, 122.11, 124.20, 124.23, 124.28, 124.32, 126.5, 138.16, 138.33, 140.12, 144.20, 154.22, 162.31, 172.6, 176.4, 184.14, 184.16, 184.27, 188.21, 232.2, 242.11, 246.21, 254.12, 272.20, 292.8, 302.6, 306.11, 332.2, 340.25, 346.11; vi. 48.29, 50.5, 50.6, 90.8, 92.22, 108.3, 198.31, 226.10, 228.7, 230.19, 230.20, 292.36, 386.17, 410.4, 410.31, 504.31, 520.11, 538.29, 540.5, 540.25, 544.27, 546.4, 546.10; **humani ciues,** human beings: ii. 198.27; *see also* burgensis, oppidanus

ciuitas, city, town: i. 152.32, 182.7, 188.2; ii. 100.28, 192.20, 212.1, 212.4, 216.32, 218.15, 222.1, 228.21, 232.20, 248.30, 308.4; iii. 28.26, 36.11, 38.23, 44.11, 44.29, 48.19, 64.5, 160.17, 220.14, 300.12, 302.29, 356.23, 356.25; iv. 26.10, 28.27, 34.8, 66.18, 78.31, 86.1, 136.28, 150.30, 220.22, 222.23, 222.27, 224.12, 224.25; v. 4.17, 12.5, 32.8, 42.2, 42.20, 42.24, 48.12, 48.13, 48.21, 50.27, 52.7, 54.7, 56.10, 56.12, 56.16, 56.24, 64.7, 64.29, 66.9, 66.12, 66.24, 66.30, 68.6, 68.21, 68.28, 68.32, 70.9, 70.20, 70.28, 72.13, 74.13, 76.26, 84.31, 86.29, 86.34, 88.2, 88.22, 90.30, 92.32, 94.15, 94.20, 94.27, 96.19, 96.30, 98.20, 102.30, 102.32, 104.24, 106.5, 106.9, 116.3, 120.3, 122.6, 122.10, 130.28, 132.1, 132.6, 134.9, 134.11, 134.19, 134.32, 134.34, 136.1 (bis), 136.10, 136.26, 136.29, 140.6, 140.12, 142.12, 142.25, 144.3, 144.19, 144.37, 146.26, 146.32, 148.2, 148.7, 148.33, 148.37, 150.8, 152.22, 154.16, 156.5, 158.26, 160.6, 162.24, 164.27, 164.29, 168.17, 172.12, 172.30, 174.14, 174.18, 178.4, 182.23, 186.8, 186.33, 220.14, 220.16, 246.19, 254.17, 254.24, 272.10, 354.30, 364.25; vi. 20.1, 78.13, 128.16, 142.25, 148.33, 188.25, 198.31, 204.1, 228.22, 230.11, 260.19, 386.3, 410.3, 410.11, 476.31, 502.9, 504.8, 506.9; *see also* oppidum, urbs

ciuitatula, small city: v. 154.31

clamis, cloak: ii. 318.19; iv. 328.13, 328.15

clamor, (*1*) uproar, cry, outcry: ii. 166.3, 358.15; iii. 196.34, 274.28, 294.33, 354.1, 356.18; iv. 100.29, 140.10, 146.6, 222.23, 292.29; v. 78.15, 78.21, 78.35, 80.1, 108.11, 260.2, 286.7, 290.12; vi. 460.5, 492.25, 512.8; (*2*) (legal) plea, accusation: ii. 202.6; iii. 186.36; iv. 242.19; vi. 206.16, 260.8, 264.4, 268.5, 268.11, 268.26, 270.17, 294.8; *see also* querimonia, questus

classis, fleet: i. 156.27, 157.5; ii. 56.21, 142.7, 144.11, 168.8, 168.24, 204.6, 204.12, 224.28, 226.14, 234.7, 244.23; iii. 308.11; iv. 16.18, 52.26, 140.7, 142.2, 236.11; v. 218.29, 274.9, 280.24, 308.4, 314.6; vi. 48.7, 48.12, 56.10, 60.16, 102.2, 128.7, 294.15, 294.27, 296.36, 462.22

claustralis, claustral, pertaining to the cloister: i. 130.32; ii. 18.19, 18.25, 96.23, 250.13; iii. 12.22; iv. 296.18, 320.6; vi. 284.24

claustrum, (*1*) monastic seclusion, enclosure: ii. 50.35, 52.4, 104.28, 344.28; iii. 144.21, 206.7, 228.24, 270.26; v. 6.22; vi. 82.25, 310.21; *see also* septum; (*2*) the cloisters (building) of a monastery or cathedral church: ii. 52.18, 134.9, 148.25; iii. 22.30, 178.21, 256.27; iv. 142.18, 144.32, 304.19, 310.3; v. 264.21; vi. 174.10, 426.1, 440.2; (*3*) the enclosed monastic buildings, including the cloisters: ii. 80.24, 124.22; iii. 130.23, 148.32, 164.27, 340.10; iv. 58.11, 72.31, 308.31; v. 6.22, 224.14, 320.15; vi. 172.9, 232.14; (*4*) prison: v. 194.28, 376.8

clauiger, key-bearer: i. 169.18, 189.8; ii. 156.28; iv. 266.24

clauis, key: i. 163.2, 170.24, 172.14, 191.5; ii. 218.15, 308.4; iii. 214.10; v. 290.13; vi. 30.10, 222.15, 272.12, 334.19, 522.18

clauus, nail: iii. 14.15; iv. 240.1, 240.3

clepo, to steal: iv. 102.14
clericalis, clerical, pertaining to a clerk: ii. 324.34; iv. 278.22, 302.23, 320.25; v. 18.20; vi. 56.4, 276.5, 476.34, 554.11
clericatus, (*1*) clerical office: i. 151.12; ii. 102.16, 258.33; iii. 228.7; vi. 138.10, 552.14; (*2*) training in letters: iv. 338.30
clericus, clerk, cleric: ii. 6.18, 10.21, 12.22, 14.17, 14.27, 18.3, 20.37, 26.20, 28.23, 32.8, 44.29, 46.38, 68.16, 72.12, 72.31, 108.21, 118.11, 144.20, 158.25, 172.22, 184.17, 216.7, 240.13, 244.11, 246.33, 258.20, 262.17, 268.30, 280.26, 288.10, 288.15, 288.24, 292.32, 294.25, 300.27, 302.5, 302.7, 306.34, 322.4, 328.18, 330.27, 332.17, 340.28, 340.30; iii. 14.30, 16.11, 16.28, 24.8, 32.1, 32.5, 32.9, 32.16, 32.18, 32.19, 66.3, 66.7, 84.24, 106.4, 120.16, 158.23, 164.11, 192.10, 200.7, 216.12, 216.14, 236.10, 256.14, 284.28, 286.5, 328.17, 342.26, 348.20, 350.14; iv. 42.26, 42.28, 44.5, 44.18, 70.6, 74.6, 102.28, 104.10, 104.14, 104.41, 118.4, 136.14, 160.16, 170.27, 174.15, 186.24, 194.15, 216.31, 236.2, 236.5, 240.14, 252.2, 262.18, 266.15, 266.17, 274.29, 278.23, 298.7, 300.31, 312.3, 314.7, 320.20, 320.25; v. 12.5, 12.15, 12.29, 16.21, 20.15, 20.19, 34.1, 100.23, 134.2, 138.14, 178.13, 202.25, 236.7, 256.19, 266.17, 278.12, 292.7, 294.21, 296.9; vi. 52.18, 72.16, 108.6, 128.10, 142.8, 144.12, 188.26, 202.14, 204.19, 210.1, 242.8, 244.33, 254.12, 268.8, 268.10, 292.13, 294.6, 310.15, 318.24, 320.23, 320.25, 320.26, 336.12, 338.27, 358.17, 358.26, 388.22, 420.11, 422.8, 422.16, 450.13, 496.9, 498.3, 544.23; **clericus cardinalis,** cardinal: ii. 94.10; vi. 418.28; **ordo clericorum,** the clergy, clerical order: ii. 6.3; *see also* ordo
clerus, clergy, the clergy: ii. 212.31, 214.26, 246.12, 300.5, 302.7, 350.14, 360.6; iii. 10.19, 46.3, 48.7, 48.30, 74.12, 130.20, 160.35, 162.1, 162.35, 188.6; iv. 20.11, 24.13, 26.27, 66.17, 80.19, 114.34, 116.4, 154.7, 166.15, 198.13, 226.31, 262.16, 266.7, 310.6; v. 12.3, 24.6, 128.7, 210.20, 236.2, 236.17, 246.23, 262.14, 264.18, 310.7, 356.9, 356.24, 376.22; vi. 38.18, 68.23, 128.3, 140.17, 142.7, 144.20, 172.5, 172.7, 172.26, 174.2, 184.7, 224.30, 228.29, 262.5, 276.19, 286.6, 320.10, 336.18, 418.25, 530.11
clibanus, oven, bake-house: iii. 224.5, 290.5, 290.10, 320.20; iv. 234.10, 234.13; *see also* fornax
cliens, servant, dependant, retainer: i. 191.7; ii. 68.33, 122.18, 146.15, 166.11, 260.13, 264.14, 280.12, 358.3; iii. 96.16, 98.13, 108.25, 192.25, 214.35, 316.1, 318.6, 320.3, 332.8; iv. 26.21, 40.25, 102.13, 114.2, 216.30, 298.12, 318.35; v. 8.10, 36.11, 92.9, 176.4, 198.5, 202.19, 288.7, 288.16, 302.10, 332.16, 336.20, 340.12; vi. 84.29, 86.21, 188.26, 286.21, 292.18, 334.32, 348.1, 420.16, 432.16, 464.20, 486.2, 514.4; *see also* clientulus, satelles
clientela, clientèle, following: iii. 98.3; *see also* satellicium
clientulus, humble dependant: iii. 320.3; iv. 100.33; v. 292.5; vi. 80.25, 114.19
clima, (*1*) region of the world: i. 134.7, 161.37, 168.5, 189.9; ii. 130.18; iv. 16.6, 40.10, 198.17

304.20, 318.20; v. 190.7, 222.19, 242.31; vi. 16.5, 128.18, 312.5, 440.9, 494.27; (*2*) continent: vi. 70.10; (*3*) part of the heavens: vi. 172.18

clipeus, shield: ii. 176.3; iii. 220.20; iv. 140.25; v. 52.10, 78.16, 78.17, 230.18; vi. 48.27, 492.27; *see also* scutum, umbo

clitella, pommel of saddle: iii. 114.7; iv. 244.4

clitellarius, pack-beast: iii. 278.2; v. 68.26, 116.5, 152.30

coartatio, constraint, blockade: iv. 282.4

coarto, to constrain, confine, put pressure on: i. 138.28; ii. 308.26, 316.22; iii. 352.9; iv. 48.9, 148.25, 232.16, 232.22, 250.22; v. 206.12, 270.25, 354.22, 370.9; vi. 26.18, 60.15, 86.37, 112.6, 118.4, 128.9, 160.8, 190.6, 244.19, 308.7, 346.25, 370.18, 372.22, 396.25, 408.18, 480.9, 496.24, 498.24, 520.24

cocus, (*1*) cook: iii. 222.32; vi. 292.20, 472.20; (*2*) kitchener: vi. 340.27

codex, (*1*) book: i. 150.6, 169.3, 183.33, 187.9, 190.12, 195.26; ii. 2.10, 48.30, 166.7, 186.15, 188.19, 304.3; iii. 8.14, 180.5, 266.11, 284.3; iv. 306.12; v. 120.3, 132.28; vi. 402.6; (*2*) code, book of law: iii. 58.18; vi. 528.27

cœnobiolum, a small monastery, ii. 250.5; *see also* cenobium

cœnobita, *see* cenobita

coepiscopus, fellow bishop: ii. 290.28; iii. 18.10, 80.34; iv. 170.19; v. 18.29; vi. 252.26, 264.1, 264.3

coessens, fellow creature, one who accompanies: ii. 76.11, 192.14, 352.18, 356.8; iii. 24.16, 170.15, 226.10; iv. 100.29, 212.29; v. 190.15, 332.22; vi. 56.22, 268.21, 380.25, 430.14

cognatio, kindred, kinsfolk: ii. 216.6, 226.2, 342.18; vi. 552.25, 552.34; *see also* parentela

cognatus, kinsman: i. 158.15, 161.34; ii. 24.16, 34.25, 38.8, 68.24, 84.31, 92.37, 94.23, 96.33, 120.1, 140.26, 152.3, 258.16, 312.18, 320.6, 340.31, 356.2; iii. 38.16, 102.14, 110.30, 166.28; iv. 32.22, 42.13, 82.12, 102.35, 112.4, 112.10, 112.13, 142.29, 160.29, 196.20, 222.25, 250.22, 294.30; v. 200.8, 224.25, 278.20; vi. 20.28, 38.11, 114.23, 166.15, 190.2, 190.23, 222.33, 278.18, 280.3, 302.14, 316.23, 396.7, 434.1; *see also* consobrinus

cognitio, (*1*) knowledge, acquaintance: i. 169.27; ii. 152.24; iii. 42.28; v. 373.26; (*2*) (heraldic) cognizance: vi. 242.9

cognomen, name (added to the **nomen**), surname: iii. 200.33, 216.2; iv. 336.22; vi. 70.6

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conspirator, conspirator: vi. 494.18

conspiro, to plot together, conspire: ii. 212.1; iv. 186.13, 268.17; vi. 32.17, 34.18, 374.9; *see also* coniuro

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consularis, consular, pertaining to a count: iv. 160.22, 284.20; v. 30.24, 68.12; vi. 162.1, 474.11

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contemplatiuus, contemplative: iv. 162.30
contemporaneus (sb.), a contemporary: iv. 334.3; vi. 382.4
contemporaneus (adj.), contemporary: ii. 188.29
contemptibiliter, contemptuously: iii. 144.14
conterminus, bordering upon, neighbouring: ii. 78.7
conticinium, the first part of the night: ii. 204.13
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contumax (sb.), one who is contumacious, rebellious: ii. 106.21, 294.10; iv. 150.7, 154.14; v. 330.11; vi. 480.13, 522.7
contumax (adj.), insolent, disobedient, ignoring a summons: ii. 270.10, 300.13, 318.14; iii. 214.33; iv. 286.10; v. 332.18; vi. 88.2, 450.24
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corilus, hazel tree: iii. 114.8
corneus, made of horn: iii. 204.10
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cucullatus (adj.), wearing a cowl: iii. 144.39

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defectiuus, one who tires: vi. 342.3

defectus, failing, failure: vi. 108.22, 194.27

defugium, refuge: iii. 270.27; *see also* refugium

degener, basely born: ii. 98.20, 312.6; iv. 82.34; v. 202.4

delectabiliter, delightfully, gladly: i. 130.10; iv. 330.8; vi. 62.7

delectamen, delight, pleasure: v. 302.21; vi. 64.26
delectamentum, delight, pleasure: ii. 340.37; iii. 262.9; iv. 108.7, 210.18, 226.28, 240.29
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delusor, deceiver: vi. 186.18
demulceo, to appease, treat gently: ii. 210.11; iii. 318.13; v. 316.16; vi. 26.24
denarius, cash, penny: i. 143.26, 144.2; ii. 32.18; iii. 96.17, 132.10, 176.2, 184.11, 190.4, 190.14, 352.1, 352.28; v. 52.1, 104.32, 164.19; vi. 554.18.
denerata, pennyworth: iii. 28.20
derisorium, a laughing stock: vi. 18.16
derisorius, mocking, coarse: iii. 318.26; v. 312.28; vi. 352.17
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deses, idle, effete: ii. 56.5; iv. 194.26; v. 22.29, 34.24
despectiue, contemptuously: vi. 466.20
despondeo, to betroth: iv. 12.6
desponsatio, marriage, betrothal: iv. 260.21; vi. 192.8, 330.11; *see also* coniugium, conubium, matrimonium
desponsio, marriage: vi. 38.6
desponso, to marry, betroth, give in marriage: i. 134.18; ii. 98.26, 304.22; iii. 114.14, 114.15, 116.5, 182.9; iv. 186.10, 272.31, 282.25; v. 10.7, 200.20, 278.24, 298.18, 378.25; vi. 46.15, 70.15, 108.25, 156.11, 156.15, 224.16, 308.13; *see also* despondeo, spondeo
destructor, destroyer: iv. 98.30; vi. 202.17
detestabiliter, abominably: iv. 298.6; vi. 256.20
detrunco, to cut off: iii. 136.9; iv. 12.27; v. 38.35, 182.10; vi. 410.1
deuastatio, devastation, scattering: iii. 276.23; iv. 306.3
deuinco, to defeat, overcome, conquer: ii. 180.23, 254.2, 274.18; iii. 90.15; v. 4.17, 74.10, 136.16, 140.7, 148.14, 248.12, 298.25, 306.9, 356.1; vi. 106.16, 280.1; *see also* debello
dextrarius, destrier, horse: vi. 334.20; *see also* equus
diaco, diaconus, deacon: i. 161.30; ii. 288.11, 288.12, 290.29; iii. 26.16, 28.15, 36.21, 64.17; iv. 68.20; v. 12.7, 12.8, 14.1; vi. 142.11, 254.23, 274.26, 276.24, 392.16, 402.8, 554.31
diaconatus, the office of deacon: iii. 68.2
diaconium, deaconship: iii. 300.21; vi. 554.28
diadema, crown, diadem: i. 160.5; ii. 138.1, 182.16, 184.3, 190.28, 214.21, 276.34; iii. 46.34, 74.7, 80.6, 100.18, 312.14; iv. 14.2, 90.3, 96.8, 180.10, 262.14, 310.6; v. 26.18, 290.23, 314.10, 340.29; vi. 238.33, 390.24, 434.16; *see also* corona
dialectica, dialectic: ii. 76.4, 148.4, 250.26
dialecticus, logician: vi. 150.3
diarria, diarrhoea: iv. 166.8; vi. 306.15, 446.28, 472.25
dicio, ditio, sway, power, dominion: ii. 226.12, 306.35, 308.13, 318.4; iii. 88.3, 100.21, 348.6, 350.21; iv. 104.40, 114.5, 152.28, 158.35, 160.21, 168.20, 174.3, 192.22, 198.26, 296.10; v. 184.31, 200.29, 214.19, 222.7, 368.19, 370.34; vi. 56.11, 58.18, 68.16

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dictamen, literary composition: ii. 166.21
dictator, (*1*) an author, writer: v. 4.12; (*2*) a chief magistrate: ii. 188.7
dictatus, a literary work, book: ii. 322.37; iii. 346.11; iv. 192.8; vi. 150.27
didasculus, didascalus, a teacher, master in the schools: i. 164.26; ii. 188.29, 296.12; iii. 146.19, 212.20, 360.2; v. 238.2, 252.6; vi. 52.32, 326.19, 488.24
digamus, twice-married man: iv. 184.17
digladio, to slash, cut: iv. 152.14
dignanter, with condescension: i. 132.4; v. 356.35; vi. 336.16
digne, worthily: i. 139.10; ii. 224.8, 320.1; iii. 68.15, 288.3; iv. 122.14; v. 4.22, 6.29, 134.15; vi. 262.1, 396.15
digniter, worthily: ii. 10.20, 272.10, 292.21, 300.7, 306.35; iii. 46.13, 334.34; iv. 308.16; v. 194.20
dignus, worthy, deserving, fitting, proper: i. 130.31, 165.7, 186.10; ii. 10.20, 72.29, 188.2, 192.25, 216.16, 216.17, 288.13, 288.15, 290.17, 290.25, 290.27, 300.28, 300.36, 314.27, 342.14, 342.22, 342.26; iii. 8.16, 52.12, 76.25, 98.17, 98.22, 154.5, 262.12, 262.32, 262.33, 266.36, 284.16, 310.30, 346.21; iv. 52.30, 66.25, 80.24, 90.25, 114.15, 144.38, 204.28, 266.27; v. 74.35, 102.22, 304.20, 322.12, 352.22; vi. 12.26, 150.27, 362.19
diiudico, to decide, discern, judge: ii. 184.23, 272.28; iii. 264.25; vi. 542.29
dilucido, to explain, elucidate: ii. 122.13, 246.20, 294.33, 360.29; v. 260.22
dilucidus, clear, plain: ii. 252.12
dimensio, measuring, dimension: iv. 172.18
dimersio, drowning, sinking: vi. 304.14
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disaisisco, to disseise: iii. 34.24; *see also* dissaisio
disciplina, (*1*) discipline (monastic or military): ii. 20.39, 26.12, 38.15, 66.3, 126.17, 192.3, 246.32, 248.10, 250.7, 290.21, 294.11, 326.1, 354.5; iii. 4.4, 66.32, 88.26, 124.20, 256.5, 280.4; iv. 82.21, 146.17, 304.17; v. 68.12, 120.19, 154.7, 154.9, 154.14; vi. 14.16, 42.19, 74.19, 154.15, 158.5, 262.8, 272.2, 288.14, 354.24, 472.8, 480.7; (*2*) learning: ii. 250.30; v. 96.25
disciplinabiliter, in a disciplined manner: vi. 88.15
discipulatus, discipleship, noviciate: v. 170.21; vi. 328.5
discipulus, pupil, disciple, follower: i. 137.21, 155.27, 164.19, 164.27, 167.31, 172.3, 172.22, 172.32, 172.33, 188.21, 189.16, 190.6; ii. 20.5, 48.8, 52.10, 108.21, 252.8, 264.22, 270.6, 296.2; iii. 40.25, 70.2, 120.9, 148.13, 168.15, 170.3, 172.16, 226.28, 242.11, 278.25, 346.6, 358.22, 358.33; iv. 118.7, 164.1, 164.25, 236.7, 252.27, 254.26, 312.19, 326.25, 332.31, 334.19; v.

discipulus (*cont.*): 120.14, 156.23; vi. 138.25, 152.5, 254.30, 326.6, 326.19, 426.13, 458.26
discolus, malcontent: iii. 182.6; v. 24.11; vi. 14.16, 42.19, 480.8, 494.8
discordia, strife: ii. 66.36, 112.1, 284.23, 320.5; iii. 194.23; iv. 10.6, 10.28, 148.16, 234.32; v. 58.3; vi. 210.21, 262.20, 290.24, 456.17
discors (sb.), dissident, one who is at strife: iii. 296.16; iv. 292.4; vi. 26.2, 446.31
discors (adj.), discordant: i. 159.33
discursor, raider: v. 218.11
discursus, a raid, rushing about: iii. 254.11, 270.9, 330.11; iv. 74.9, 140.11; v. 8.19, 10.3, 152.27, 214.23, 238.14; vi. 226.3, 234.4
dispensator, administrator, steward, dispenser: i. 144.6; ii. 238.23; iii. 62.17, 124.6; iv. 172.10, 176.2; vi. 260.33, 338.27, 378.27; *see also* dapifer, procurator, senescalcus
dispersor, scatterer: vi. 74.1
dispositor, ruler: iii. 116.25
disputatio, disputation: ii. 252.4
disputo, to discuss, treat of, dispute. ii. 286.4; v. 76.22; vi. 166.2, 382.7
dissaisio, to disseise: iv. 220.6; vi. 446.5; *see also* disaisisco
dissenteria, dysentery: ii. 180.22; *see also* fluxus ventris
dissertor, speaker, disputant: vi. 166.2
disticon, couplet: ii. 268.4; iii. 50.1
diurnalis, of or for daytime: vi. 292.27
diutine, a long time: iii. 122.3
diutinus, of long duration, lasting: ii. 18.9, 72.26, 118.19; iii. 168.12, 258.19; iv. 10.17, 44.12, 158.7, 198.27, 200.22, 232.32, 318.31; v. 18.3, 314.21; vi. 112.6, 154.4, 178.4, 226.1, 362.14, 394.3, 408.7, 464.24, 492.2, 522.30
diuturnitas, long duration: vi. 550.4
diuerticulum, path, by-way: ii. 206.8, v. 90.16, 344.34
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doctrinalis, doctrinal: iv. 120.9
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iv. 162.15, 262.31, 306.5; v. 190.1, 204.17, 206.3; vi. 140.3, 152.25, 404.28
dolium, barrel, jar: iv. 238.28; vi. 226.18
doma, dwelling, roof: v. 258.6, 350.22; vi. 440.28
domesticus (sb.), inmate of a household: iv. 162.2, 174.30; vi. 204.15, 376.18
domesticus (adj.), belonging to a household: iv. 274.20; v. 288.16; vi. 344.2, 406.22
domina, (*1*) feudal lady, mistress, wife: ii. 220.19, 342.21; iii. 104.25, 196.24, 258.16, 354.8; iv. 30.3, 32.16, 200.26, 308.19; v. 366.33, 378.18; vi. 38.27, 454.19, 514.1, 520.17; (*2*) Our Lady, the Virgin Mary: iii. 16.31; iv. 100.25
dominium, (*1*) demesne, land held by a lord for his own use: ii. 132.35, 340.14; iii. 146.16, 156.22, 202.38, 234.6, 238.18; iv. 114.23, 158.10, 208.7, 268.3; v. 202.11, 250.20, 268.1, 316.22, 316.24; vi. 94.3, 98.4, 266.8, 286.30, 344.32; (*2*) lordship: iii. 88.18; iv. 56.13, 92.29, 258.3; v. 134.11, 184.32; vi. 14.18, 46.20, 56.25, 244.17, 366.18, 458.6; (*3*) domain: i. 161.36
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donatiuum, a largess: vi. 448.14
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doto, to endow: ii. 198.15
draco, dragon: iv. 148.30; vi. 10.36, 30.24, 382.20, 382.29, 384.14, 384.17, 386.29, 386.34
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ducalis, ducal: v. 42.3
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duellum, judicial duel: iii. 32.2
dulcisonus, sweet sounding: ii. 108.13, 298.6
dulciter, agreeably, kindly: ii. 20.7, 210.11, 328.12, 348.17; iii. 20.21; iv. 90.19; v. 170.24; vi. 328.33
dux, duke: *passim*

eclipsis, eclipse, extinction: v. 18.24, 194.5
edictum, edict, proclamation, order: ii. 198.12, 298.28, 306.37, 308.27, 358.23; iii. 24.5, 104.12; v. 108.32, 132.19, 180.21, 330.8; vi. 66.28, 138.4, 176.2, 182.14, 244.22, 258.30, 360.19, 362.28; *see also* constitutio, decretum, statutum
editor, author: vi. 140.4
edituus, sacristan: ii. 160.5, 160.18, 164.29; iv. 58.13, 70.8
educatio, rearing (of animals): v. 284.12
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educo (educere), lead, carry off: i. 164.20; ii. 154.30; v. 134.3
efficaciter, effectually, powerfully: i. 136.22, 161.36, 180.25, 188.20; iii. 358.34; iv. 100.17; v. 78.11; vi. 246.14
eiulatus, a wailing: ii. 322.16
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eleemosina, elemosina, (1) alms: ii. 10.19, 52.2, 146.10, 150.9, 224.9, 288.20; iii. 20.17, 84.20, 122.24, 126.28, 144.10, 162.35, 172.4, 174.9, 174.13, 174.15, 178.8, 182.5, 184.5, 232.34, 238.22, 248.22, 250.19, 252.7, 256.7, 260.36, 262.24, 266.13, 274.26, 274.29, 276.5, 276.8, 298.13, 342.26; iv. 24.2, 92.3, 136.15, 248.22; v. 154.5, 164.28, 178.16, 232.20, 292.18; vi. 38.4, 174.27; (2) land held as free alms: iii. 32.16, 156.23, 204.16
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eleganter, gracefully, in a handsome style: ii. 4.1, 354.3; iii. 22.31, 118.12, 178.1; iv. 116.14, 308.6; v. 236.24; vi. 138.17
elegantia, handsomeness, beauty: i. 130.11; ii. 136.7, 268.9, 298.17; v. 320.23; vi. 164.10

elemosinarius, almoner: ii. 114.28
elephans, elephant: ii. 62.35
elinguis, speechless: iii. 18.14
elucubro, to kindle: v. 80.3
emeritus (sb.), a veteran: iv. 162.10, 336.30
emeritus (adj.), veteran: iii. 298.18; iv. 302.26
emina, a liquid measure: iv. 316.22
eminus, from a distance: v. 54.32, 62.19, 90.28
emptor, buyer, purchaser: iv. 58.29; v. 22.6
encenium, festival of dedication: ii. 198.32
enigma, obscurity: ii. 296.21; vi. 326.11
enigmaticus, mysterious: iv. 306.14
ensis, sword: ii. 92.26, 204.31, 220.26, 320.3, 350.16; iii. 64.7, 72.22, 136.9; iv. 26.24, 30.13, 30.27, 106.1, 110.28, 116.1, 134.16, 140.29, 144.30, 246.9, 248.7; v. 78.18, 82.17, 84.8, 84.12, 96.13, 114.21, 158.31, 188.4, 230.7, 364.8; vi. 44.24, 416.4, 492.34, 514.9, 518.26, 520.1, 544.4; *see also* framea, gladius, rumphea
epanalempsis, digression: iv. 278.4, 336.2
epibata, soldier on board a ship: v. 312.31; vi. 296.27
episcopalis, episcopal: ii. 26.5, 62.1, 198.21, 244.38, 302.16; iii. 26.9, 30.2, 30.19, 30.26, 200.19, 244.24; iv. 54.24, 174.1, 194.15; v. 22.23, 154.23, 310.19, 350.7; vi. 368.33, 402.16, 438.29
episcopatus, bishopric, diocese, office of bishop: i. 160.14; ii. 26.10, 26.11, 46.34, 50.4, 76.37, 102.3, 198.19, 200.24, 238.23, 242.31, 254.28, 268.27, 288.16, 300.9, 300.23, 302.6; iii. 10.28, 20.4, 68.32, 158.30; iv. 236.28, 252.14, 252.32, 300.21, 322.7; v. 16.16, 170.16, 188.24, 202.33, 210.22, 220.6, 236.1, 250.20, 308.12, 322.2, 356.15; vi. 46.21, 46.23, 68.26, 142.17, 142.28, 144.25, 172.31, 276.2, 276.9, 336.10, 340.9, 340.12, 422.27, 422.29, 436.37, 442.28, 474.15, 478.26, 530.16, 550.9
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episcopus, bishop: *passim*; *see also* antistes, flamen, prælatus, præsul, suffraganeus
epistola, epistle, letter: i. 155.33, 172.29, 173.23; ii. 86.17, 108.35, 112.31, 132.37, 252.18, 296.3; iii. 340.12, 346.11, 346.15; iv. 96.5, 110.8, 166.29, 190.21, 262.6; v. 18.29, 120.10, 202.31, 252.5; vi. 50.30, 50.31, 116.6, 164.28, 266.27, 274.10, 424.18, 538.8; *see also* littera
epitaphium, epitaph: ii. 198.24, 350.6; iii. 18.19, 22.7, 90.8, 178.23, 256.30, 336.5; iv. 44.21, 144.2, 164.3, 304.19, 308.6, 336.17; vi. 36.26, 38.20, 138.26, 146.4, 152.5, 172.1, 312.6, 378.2, 488.27
epitimium, (?) heath: iv. 92.25; v. 258.1
epitome, abridgement: ii. 324.6; *see also* adbreuiatio
equa, mare: v. 256.18, 344.27; vi. 438.5, 438.6
eques, knight, mounted soldier: ii. 172.28, 174.6, 180.32, 206.4,

eques (*cont.*):
212.19, 230.22, 234.17, 236.5, 258.11, 308.30, 360.15; iii. 160.30, 184.23, 202.4, 208.2, 332.35; iv. 200.24, 212.30, 232.8, 244.8, 246.21; v. 110.24, 110.25, 114.23, 214.6, 218.10, 240.14, 282.6; vi. 18.12, 72.15, 84.6, 150.1, 206.12, 220.35, 222.3, 232.13, 238.7, 246.25, 246.29, 350.14, 352.1, 402.4, 516.23, 542.31; **gregarius eques,** stipendiary or common knight: iii. 108.20; **pagensis eques,** country knight: iii. 334.3; iv. 104.2; *see also* miles

equester, knightly: ii. 122.27; vi. 236.14

equipollens, equivalent: iv. 68.18, 106.20, 204.4

equitatus, (*1*) men of rank: ii. 196.11; (*2*) troop of mounted knights: ii. 228.11, 358.17; iv. 238.11; v. 280.24

equito, to ride: ii. 132.24; iii. 338.2, 338.20; iv. 188.18, 194.15, 212.30, 234.35, 238.38; v. 62.4, 84.6, 114.17, 122.1, 148.25, 150.11, 180.29, 180.32, 224.3, 254.32; vi. 28.27, 80.27, 476.16

equoreus, of the sea: vi. 384.24

equus, horse: ii. 82.14, 82.15, 82.18, 90.30, 122.23, 132.5, 132.6, 136.5, 148.20, 154.30, 172.33, 174.16, 174.33, 176.12, 176.17, 182.31, 204.15, 236.9, 360.18; iii. 104.28, 186.16, 190.17, 204.8, 216.8, 242.24, 244.14, 278.6, 282.12, 284.26, 308.4, 320.19, 332.22; iv. 20.4, 26.1, 48.14, 100.32, 124.18, 128.17, 132.32, 200.31, 202.28, 234.35, 242.2, 242.27, 244.9, 276.10, 286.29; v. 20.16, 20.17, 44.12, 62.28, 68.25, 68.26, 74.36, 76.1, 80.11, 84.16, 84.29, 94.5, 98.26, 110.24 (bis), 112.32, 114.23 (bis), 116.5, 132.10, 144.13, 146.3, 146.18, 152.14, 158.25, 160.9, 162.12, 162.16, 218.6, 218.9, 222.36, 230.22, 242.28, 256.6, 298.17, 366.13; vi. 10.14, 20.19, 28.14, 30.12, 34.6, 58.11, 82.17, 82.19, 84.12, 100.26, 122.1, 162.4, 182.17, 238.5, 238.8, 246.25, 246.30, 334.22, 344.9, 348.26, 350.23, 352.34, 390.16, 418.27, 420.25, 470.2, 474.3, 474.6, 492.6, 528.3; *see also* caballus, cornipes, dextrarius, mannus, palefridus, sonipes

era (hera), lady of rank: ii. 224.10; iii. 106.35, 136.9, 258.7; iv. 332.19; v. 360.22, 368.13; vi. 42.9, 404.10; *see also* domina

eradico, root out, utterly destroy: ii. 42.20, 320.9; iv. 152.11

erebus, Hell: ii. 276.11; vi. 10.23

eremita, *see* heremita

ergastulum, prison, dungeon: i. 135.15; ii. 258.3, 318.17; iii. 354.18; v. 312.4, 358.18, 362.10; vi. 34.9, 76.24, 94.7, 162.21, 256.29, 292.3; *see also* carcer

erilis, pertaining to a lord, master: ii. 320.33; iii. 50.15, 78.5; iv. 214.10, 234.8, 336.26; vi. 148.22, 378.17

erinis, a fury: ii. 256.22; iv. 228.4; vi. 10.22, 328.16; *see also* furiæ

eros, erus, *see* heros

erraticus, stray beast: iii. 32.15; *see also* weridif

erumnosus, troubled, distressful: ii. 54.35; iv. 80.30

erumpna, erumna, tribulation, sorrow: iii. 152.5; iv. 112.16, 190.34, 226.24, 256.29, 298.28; v. 350.28, 352.19; vi. 58.34, 62.35, 96.24, 104.6, 284.28, 328.24, 418.4, 450.24, 478.16, 478.25

ethnicus (sb.), a heathen, pagan, infidel: i. 188.4; iv. 218.29, 264.12; v. 4.14, 16.3, 36.21, 52.29, 62.26, 70.13, 114.18, 158.13, 162.6, 172.35, 174.15, 180.30, 182.17, 188.13, 206.26, 216.29, 230.9, 322.15, 324.21, 328.20, 348.34, 366.28, 378.11; vi. 52.31, 104.25, 106.33, 108.23, 112.21, 124.13, 128.4, 392.5, 396.2, 398.26, 404.3, 410.32, 414.1, 414.16, 416.32

ethnicus (adj.), pagan: ii. 240.11; iii. 40.9; v. 268.17; vi. 108.20, 112.9, 116.16, 452.24; *see also* infidelis, paganus

eucharistia, eucharist: ii. 252.14; iv. 38.8, 272.11; vi. 72.7, 448.20

eulogia, gift; **eulogia benedictionis,** postulant's gift: iii. 146.20, 274.5

eunuchus, eunuch: v. 336.19, 370.22, 376.17

euangelista, æuangelista, evangelist: i. 138.2, 138.6, 148.14, 167.30, 174.4, 175.14, 180.11, 180.31, 188.1, 188.21, 188.33, 189.11, 189.15, 190.9; iii. 198.18, 254.26

euangelium, ewangelium, æuangelium, gospel: i. 137.29, 156.1, 164.7, 164.28, 165.4, 172.23, 177.32, 180.29, 182.6, 184.7, 184.17, 188.22, 189.24; ii. 108.19, 160.14; iii. 100.14, 128.23, 134.12, 192.7, 230.12, 266.20; iv. 30.10, 30.12, 320.23, 320.24; v. 100.11; vi. 58.16, 254.29

euectio, transport: v. 36.2

euiro, to weaken, emasculate: iv. 284.16; v. 102.32, 108.31

exactorius, extortionate: iii. 244.24

exacumino, to make keen: vi. 290.28

exalbesco, to ripen: v. 152.4

exametris, hexameter: i. 196.22; vi. 326.23

exarcus, exarch: iii. 62.12

exarmo, to disarm: v. 120.28; vi. 538.23

excerpo, to take extracts from: i. 168.32, 177.11; iv. 56.1, 68.21; v. 6.24; vi. 386.18

excommunicatio, excommunication: ii. 38.22, 96.4; iii. 26.5; *see also* anathema

excommunico, to excommunicate: ii. 38.27, 94.35, 288.15, 290.16, 342.15, 360.7; iii. 32.14, 32.33, 130.11; iv. 6.23, 8.18, 10.22, 194.30, 252.26, 298.1; v. 198.27; vi. 218.11, 258.6, 274.20; *see also* anathematizo, sequestro

excubiæ (pl.), vigil: iv. 174.18; v. 178.25

excubitor, watchman, guard: iv. 114.4; v. 42.18, 66.10, 134.27, 290.14; vi. 84.14, 224.24

excubo, to keep watch, to guard: iii. 332.2; iv. 80.5, 264.29; v. 154.2; vi. 220.9, 404.7

excusatorius, excusatory: v. 18.27

excursus, (*1*) an attack, sortie: v. 148.28, 178.23; (*2*) (pl.), past events (?): i. 130.2, 150.23; vi. 8.15

execrabiliter, with curses: v. 370.28

exemplar, model, copy: i. 137.9, 181.30, 182.21, 185.21; iii. 170.1, 290.29; vi. 306.27

exemplum, example, model: ii. 2.14, 12.31, 50.8, 56.38, 74.28, 128.36, 150.17, 190.20, 238.26, 240.5, 248.11, 290.6, 356.7; iii. 4.1, 4.15, 162.33, 168.6, 174.18, 180.29, 212.4, 216.18, 262.22, 268.18, 280.3, 306.1, 336.13, 344.39; iv. 44.9, 108.15, 130.17, 164.15, 178.3, 314.11, 324.4; v. 194.20, 202.8, 258.24, 264.1,

exemplum (*cont.*): 322.18, 352.16; vi. 66.22, 152.30, 172.13, 218.27, 262.15, 272.2, 310.11, 328.8, 500.1
exenium, xenium, gift: ii. 40.15; iii. 109.19, 322.16; iv. 42.10, 184.1, 274.22; v. 278.16, 354.16; vi. 102.9, 122.15, 296.10
exercitatio, exercise, practice: iii. 344.34; v. 238.9; vi. 186.7
exercitium, exercicium, exercise, business, duty: ii. 28.26, 86.12, 132.10, 154.10, 246.31, 280.18; iii. 4.2, 4.15, 20.11, 228.13, 296.9; iv. 30.20, 138.16, 158.15, 308.11; v. 16.10, 240.14; vi. 66.14, 80.1, 182.13, 190.12, 232.17, 512.20, 526.19
exercitus, army: *passim*
exhæredatio, exheredatio, disinheriting: ii. 92.16; iii. 308.10; iv. 182.25
exhæredito, exheredito, to disinherit: ii. 90.15, 106.2, 312.13, 318.2; iii. 134.20; iv. 94.6, 152.28, 158.31; v. 142.30; vi. 24.26, 26.4, 256.24, 260.15; *see also* exhæredo
exhæredo, exheredo, to disinherit: i. 159.19; ii. 272.13; iii. 108.27, 136.1, 214.34; iv. 102.11, 244.24, 284.7, 294.16; v. 210.5, 320.28; vi. 336.8, 368.31, 434.12; *see also* exhæredito
exhortatorius, exhortatory, persuasive: iii. 340.2; iv. 154.4
exilium, exile, banishment: i. 138.21, 195.6, 195.25; ii. 202.15, 248.31, 258.24, 272.13, 312.22; iii. 58.3, 58.10, 100.25, 146.24, 150.9, 158.28, 328.14, 334.37; iv. 6.18, 54.12, 82.2, 182.25, 252.3, 284.4; v. 24.14, 34.12, 204.31; vi. 58.34, 96.17, 120.32, 164.4, 202.21, 282.15, 406.19, 544.30, 552.28
exinanitio, exhaustion: vi. 446.28
exlex, an outlaw: iv. 146.31, 150.10; v. 12.26, 244.33; vi. 92.13, 158.21, 258.12, 430.25
exmonachus, former monk: i. 162.29; iv. 70.26
exorcismus, exorcism: iii. 40.17
exordino, (*1*) to disorder: v. 112.18; (*2*) to degrade (bishop): i. 159.20
exosus, hateful, odious: ii. 344.27; iii. 88.26, 134.29, 150.8, 180.8, 300.26; iv. 94.5, 194.25, 284.4; v. 44.18, 310.18; vi. 144.9
expeditio, (*1*) expeditionary force, campaign, expedition: ii. 12.5, 118.4, 136.3, 212.10, 218.23, 220.3, 234.21, 304.13, 356.26; iv. 16.26, 76.1, 212.29, 218.25, 292.24; v. 6.7, 6.18, 18.13, 48.17, 66.1, 88.10, 118.28, 120.27, 120.32, 128.25, 154.12, 174.27, 186.1, 200.1, 234.2, 238.13, 354.2; vi. 28.30, 200.10, 220.16, 234.8, 244.6, 244.25, 244.37, 250.1, 372.5, 462.29, 472.7, 484.25, 492.23, 542.15, 550.26; (*2*) military service: iii. 152.34, 248.2; iv. 292.7
experientia, experience, proof: ii. 52.1; v. 328.17, 360.21
experimentum, experiment, experience: ii. 76.13, 204.10; iv. 82.24
expiscor, to search out: vi. 328.24
expugnatio, the storming of a stronghold: iv. 210.7; v. 332.7; vi. 158.8
expugnator, assailant: ii. 166.3
expugno, to storm, take by assault, subdue: ii. 6.29, 166.1, 282.7; iv. 6.4, 124.32, 130.22, 208.27, 214.22; v. 52.6, 58.26, 66.32, 66.34, 96.9, 106.17, 106.18, 134.10, 136.33, 138.30, 138.33, 162.28, 170.5, 176.33, 184.30, 186.5, 198.33, 220.11, 258.15, 278.3, 330.3, 332.1, 374.19; vi.

26.18, 74.18, 78.11, 78.23, 102.5, 194.17, 200.11, 280.32, 376.20, 466.22, 470.3, 482.13, 520.9, 524.12, 526.21, 540.23, 540.31

expulsio, banishment, expulsion: ii. 124.16, 144.14; iv. 12.17, 258.5

exstasis, extasis, exstasy, trance: iv. 336.1; v. 284.25

extorris, exiled, banished: ii. 202.16, 266.20, 282.3, 358.25; iv. 194.32, 292.21; v. 282.17, 316.29; vi. 18.7, 256.24, 352.7, 358.18

extraneus (sb.), stranger, outsider: ii. 96.1, 104.5, 106.22, 172.33, 208.1, 266.19, 348.18; iii. 100.24, 276.28; iv. 170.32, 208.8, 294.17; v. 106.35, 250.25, 290.26; vi. 166.13, 368.13, 376.20, 434.1, 442.11, 470.10

extraneus (adj.), foreign, strange, external: ii. 38.13, 124.1, 272.11; iv. 60.5, 122.29, 126.10; v. 202.3, 222.27, 274.21, 308.26, 358.11; vi. 20.28, 288.15

exul, an exile: ii. 104.33, 202.24, 250.9, 330.5, 330.19, 332.7, 358.27; iii. 8.4, 38.17, 102.22, 108.16, 146.24; iv. 12.9, 252.1, 256.29, 272.5, 294.17; v. 274.36; vi. 164.20, 180.11, 184.15, 188.30, 194.11, 246.9, 358.4, 368.27, 370.1, 372.27, 378.18, 448.11, 554.5

exulatio, exile: ii. 124.14; iii. 308.13

exulo, to exile, be in exile: ii. 60.29; iii. 86.5, 110.30, 166.27, 308.17; iv. 54.15, 74.28, 76.17, 84.27, 168.10, 178.3, 252.30, 310.17; v. 24.25, 70.13, 158.7, 158.11, 204.30, 212.8, 212.19, 252.26, 278.29, 294.12, 322.5, 372.9, 376.7; vi. 12.22, 30.14, 136.20, 144.13, 148.24, 180.9, 204.16, 246.9, 288.15, 352.5, 356.8, 370.30, 406.9, 430.23, 434.12, 494.22

exuuiæ (pl.), spoils: iii. 260.25; v. 84.32, 244.16

fabrica, fabric (of building), structure: ii. 150.11; v. 216.2

fabrico, to make of wood, stone, or metal: ii. 14.33, 24.6, 106.19, 106.27, 144.20, 244.10; iii. 242.1; iv. 68.2, 234.29, 290.19; vi. 386.1

fabula, story: v. 226.4; vi. 70.8

facinorose, scandalously: iv. 118.14

facinorosus (sb.), a villain, criminal: iv. 114.13; vi. 244.34

facinorosus (adj.), lawless, criminal: vi. 368.30

factio, deed, faction, plot: ii. 90.11, 184.21, 206.28, 320.34; iv. 114.14, 134.22, 158.21, 228.23, 252.24, 254.9; v. 120.30; vi. 52.6, 96.34, 130.32, 218.25, 248.29, 286.8, 342.18, 444.1, 516.22

factiosus (sb.), conspirator: ii. 358.23; iv. 284.6; vi. 26.22, 518.17

factiosus (adj.), seditious: ii. 222.12, 228.33

facundia, eloquence, facility: i. 130.20; ii. 136.7, 248.28; iii. 10.17, 20.6, 142.12, 154.16, 192.19, 264.29, 340.6; iv. 332.5; vi. 146.7, 152.17, 200.20, 274.15, 358.24

falernum, wine, falernian wine: v. 312.13; vi. 436.9

falsarius, counterfeiter: v. 22.6

falsidicus, lying: iii. 180.7

famelicus (sb.), starvation: iii. 298.5

famelicus (adj.), hungry: iv. 306.14; vi. 286.24, 512.10

familia, (1) household, household troops: i. 193.22, 194.11; ii. 62.30, 132.8, 226.31, 260.31; iii. 216.10, 226.12, 244.10, 280.16,

familia (*cont.*):
284.23, 308.26, 330.5, 334.6; iv. 48.13, 154.22, 168.31, 182.10, 214.17, 216.12, 220.24, 238.3, 262.22, 286.17, 292.23; v. 118.7, 130.20, 216.18, 234.9, 240.35, 248.2, 248.18, 256.1, 376.17; vi. 22.1, 60.14, 60.25, 66.27, 72.5, 72.6, 74.5, 88.10, 162.1, 196.17, 220.16, 246.21, 346.10, 352.1, 406.14, 482.13, 496.15, 532.7, 540.27; (*2*) family: i. 134.15; v. 200.14; **familia Christi,** servants of Christ, monks: iii. 150.4; vi. 142.8; **familia Herlechini,** Hellequin's rabble: iv. 242.23

familiaris (sb.), close friend, member of household, counsellor: iii. 172.2, 336.27; v. 46.3, 90.17, 130.25, 242.18, 248.5, 248.13, 254.31; vi. 144.14, 162.23, 376.11, 428.18, 530.9

familiaris (adj.), intimate, friendly: ii. 62.28, 258.9, 314.18; iii. 22.2 150.21, 182.8, 206.22, 268.22; iv. 66.26, 274.21, 298.12; v. 48.9, 256.28, 276.12, 288.15; vi. 14.31, 100.5, 118.29, 220.27, 336.7, 340.24, 376.22, 380.3, 488.20, 540.6; **res familiaris,** property: iii. 98.16

familiaritas, intimacy, friendship, membership of a household: ii. 86.36, 110.21; iii. 160.26, 172.7, 174.19, 318.10; iv. 70.7, 170.27, 240.19, 302.34; v. 282.22, 312.26, 360.1, 374.25; vi. 98.3, 164.18, 390.32, 466.28, 554.8

familiariter, intimately, as a friend or counsellor: ii. 42.8, 80.7, 138.12, 178.10, 188.23; iii. 144.32, 256.13, 308.33; iv. 204.24; v. 206.6; vi. 80.21

familiola, small household: iii. 346.30; vi. 462.5

famula, female servant: ii. 114.19

famulatus, (*1*) service (honourable): i. 179.6; ii. 268.26; iii. 16.31, 120.23, 228.23; iv. 46.7, 158.10, 206.29, 260.22; vi. 270.19, 296.12, 460.31, 484.16, 508.26, 520.17, 556.12; (*2*) service of slaves: v. 358.30; *see also* seruitus

famulus, servant, attendant: ii. 20.22, 60.6, 94.33, 114.19, 128.28, 196.31, 334.17; iii. 66.26, 126.10, 242.20, 242.33, 276.2, 290.25, 294.18, 294.25, 294.32, 318.8, 332.7, 332.20, 338.25, 344.22; iv. 70.23, 70.26, 146.3, 296.22; v. 20.16, 376.32; vi. 8.4, 150.16, 292.28, 424.6, 448.13, 464.30, 538.19

farrago, fodder, fuel: iv. 162.6; vi. 310.16

fas, right, possibility: iv. 10.16, 150.12, 234.13, 296.27; v. 24.12, 96.34, 250.22, 286.26; vi. 178.8, 256.20

fasciculus, bundle: iii. 46.1, 308.2

fascis, (*1*) high office, symbol of office: i. 191.11; ii. 182.18; iii. 48.12, 94.14; iv. 14.30, 74.22, 94.18, 274.6; v. 228.2; vi. 94.30; (*2*) sheaf, bundle: vi. 10.11, 234.11

faselus, fishing smack: vi. 300.6

fastigium, summit, power; the highest rank or dignity: i. 153.24; iii. 114.12, 270.2; vi. 16.26, 134.13, 156.3, 186.21, 354.30, 378.28, 422.22, 454.3

fatum, a Fate, fate: vi. 246.30, 452.26

fauctio, faction: iv. 220.20

fauctor, fautor, supporter, accomplice, patron: ii. 96.27, 118.24, 150.11, 170.21, 206.28, 266.8, 294.26, 308.7, 316.30, 320.13; iii. 98.27, 194.36, 210.31, 214.35, 232.26; iv. 94.4, 138.21, 148.7, 166.25, 220.7, 250.15,

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fauorabiliter, favourably, with approbation: ii. 202.24, 280.31; v. 170.10, 214.21; vi. 16.15, 68.26, 92.22, 112.26, 306.25, 418.29, 546.15

febricito, to be ill with fever: ii. 166.23; iii. 276.12, 298.20; iv. 72.23

federatus, leagued together: vi. 220.7

fedus, fœdus, treaty, agreement, contract: i. 157.12, 159.35; ii. 352.15; iii. 8.6, 90.25, 204.14, 308.24; iv. 122.32, 202.12, 222.2; v. 86.29, 108.22, 144.4, 240.16, 306.17, 368.17; vi. 14.14, 14.26, 56.23, 56.33, 60.12, 80.5, 198.8, 224.14, 288.25, 288.31, 346.2, 352.31, 386.2, 466.26, 482.9, 494.24, 546.27, 548.25

feraliter, fatally, fiercely: iv. 300.21; v. 112.26; vi. 30.26, 38.33, 346.3, 418.19, 442.8, 470.20

ferramentum, iron tool: iii. 222.15; v. 50.20, 260.15

ferratus, (*1*) mail-clad: ii. 308.17; iii. 110.5; v. 218.1; vi. 48.21, 88.14, 236.7, 250.6; (*2*) shod with iron: vi. 162.4

feudum, fief, fee: ii. 46.10, 64.2, 64.12, 82.31, 152.4, 152.35, 360.10; iii. 120.23, 148.26, 156.7, 174.12, 176.12, 184.4, 186.27, 188.26, 188.33, 190.2, 190.28, 200.25 (bis), 202.1, 204.26, 208.29, 248.8; iv. 120.5, 180.3, 210.23; v. 22.27; vi. 296.11, 446.7, 454.24, 468.3, 548.21; **feudum militis,** knight's fee: iii. 120.10; *see also* beneficium

fideiussor, surety: iii. 342.1, 350.10

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fidelis (adj.), faithful, loyal: i. 162.1, 164.27, 164.29, 168.4, 178.6, 179.11, 189.4, 189.20 (bis); ii. 14.8, 16.7, 58.21, 68.20, 72.3, 76.29, 90.20, 110.15, 158.5, 170.22, 218.25, 254.5, 262.23, 266.5, 272.16, 314.16, 340.19, 360.22; iii. 46.4, 74.18, 106.5, 110.25, 146.31, 180.11, 184.30, 190.33, 254.31, 260.24, 266.15 (bis), 270.18, 274.34, 302.25, 340.11, 360.23; iv. 18.30, 20.13, 50.13, 64.12, 78.22, 88.15, 132.17, 144.10, 162.18, 176.2, 182.23, 194.9, 206.4, 206.28, 218.37, 224.32, 234.2, 272.16, 300.16, 302.25, 336.25; v. 86.30, 122.17, 126.14, 136.24, 164.1, 170.1, 170.8, 174.14, 252.4, 304.1, 306.9, 310.4, 316.13, 332.16; vi. 90.23,

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fidelitas, fealty, loyalty, faithfulness: ii. 80.16, 82.25, 118.2, 180.24, 212.4, 304.33, 356.14; iii. 184.22, 254.11, 306.18; iv. 84.5, 124.1, 172.24, 206.16, 234.8; v. 22.29, 42.33, 48.30, 68.1, 76.6, 142.32, 152.19, 254.16, 270.30, 276.14, 290.20, 314.19; vi. 92.2, 148.22, 176.24, 178.10, 180.6, 198.14, 214.14, 214.27, 352.28, 482.25, 540.16

fideliter, faithfully, honestly: i. 136.34, 139.11, 154.14, 169.30, 179.5, 181.32, 186.31, 188.7; ii. 2.22, 6.2, 22.34, 60.32, 60.35, 62.9, 70.33, 72.17, 74.4, 74.8, 86.4, 114.26, 140.3, 142.32, 144.8, 172.9, 204.1, 206.26, 208.35, 242.26, 298.13, 300.35, 314.33, 326.28, 332.3, 344.7; iii. 10.4, 16.8, 38.5, 42.4, 112.7, 122.24, 124.23, 130.10, 144.36, 164.12, 172.3, 174.22, 196.24, 216.16, 226.3, 232.18, 244.9, 246.15, 276.19, 316.30; iv. 222.34; v. 20.25, 100.9, 156.28, 158.17, 184.20, 276.6, 278.9, 310.11, 344.4, 368.3, 376.23; vi. 14.30, 26.16, 42.2, 58.13, 94.20, 154.5, 164.6, 182.27, 218.4, 218.27, 224.9, 250.25, 278.10, 294.13, 394.11, 484.1, 544.1, 556.2

fides, (*1*) religious faith, belief: i. 137.23, 142.33, 143.32, 167.32, 167.36, 169.34, 171.3, 171.13, 172.11, 172.27, 173.2, 173.29, 175.27, 175.33, 177.1, 177.15, 177.24, 179.10, 179.20, 181.18, 186.36, 196.11; ii. 20.8, 64.18, 94.16, 160.31, 166.17, 188.14, 206.22, 224.9, 250.32, 252.5, 264.23, 286.8, 286.9, 330.9, 336.37, 346.24; iii. 36.20, 38.9, 38.26, 38.28, 62.12, 62.21, 82.17, 232.26, 260.32, 262.17, 264.12, 296.28, 302.24, 344.18; iv. 30.21, 138.35, 166.2, 166.30, 174.13, 242.29, 258.21, 278.3, 314.25, 318.14; v. 10.27, 24.30, 38.16, 38.22, 108.26, 116.35, 130.34, 194.14, 206.18, 268.18, 340.13, 348.13, 360.3, 360.26, 370.16; vi. 112.27, 120.10, 320.1, 408.23, 498.15, 500.2; (*2*) loyalty, fealty: ii. 26.31, 28.6, 60.29, 136.9, 136.11, 208.5, 218.16, 222.8, 314.14, 314.15, 314.20, 316.28; iii. 100.27, 194.17, 312.37; iv. 80.21, 82.11, 84.1, 102.4, 178.26, 206.9, 220.26, 278.12; v. 272.36, 290.17, 302.16, 304.23, 314.31, 316.6; vi. 12.19, 22.10, 28.13, 58.12, 94.19, 100.17, 192.2, 198.1, 202.1, 212.23, 228.35, 352.26, 352.30, 404.11, 506.16, 506.20, 542.28; (*3*) good faith, sworn word: ii. 102.33; iii. 186.19, 196.11; iv. 40.11, 62.13, 152.19, 204.28, 284.18; v. 20.30, 24.18, 50.4, 184.22, 244.28, 244.32, 360.29, 360.32, 360.35, 364.17, 366.32, 368.3, 370.3; vi. 54.20, 106.17, 166.15, 206.15, 210.28, 292.35, 362.9, 396.8

fido, to trust: iii. 8.27; v. 40.27; vi. 302.32, 484.15

fiducia, trust, confidence: i. 132.5; ii. 222.6; iv. 198.3; v. 100.33; vi. 94.14, 232.1, 278.1, 372.24

fiducialiter, confidently: i. 183.18; ii. 314.34; iii. 48.8; iv. 154.35, 248.8; v. 108.5, 146.6, 274.16, 362.33, 368.7; vi. 116.28, 118.34, 196.18, 356.26

fidus, faithful, trustworthy: ii.

70.25, 94.6, 256.28, 280.12, 316.20, 324.4, 326.25, 350.15; iii. 102.29, 180.14, 194.36, 254.6; iv. 52.20, 84.29, 126.13, 298.28; v. 86.32, 124.10, 250.2, 296.6, 312.22; vi. 114.7, 114.26, 204.7, 222.25, 244.10, 372.2, 488.24

filiola, god-daughter: iii. 32.27

filiolus, child (spiritual), god-son: iii. 38.20, 44.8, 288.6, 288.14, 288.28, 298.34, 324.8; vi. 268.19, 460.31

firmiter, steadily, firmly, enduringly: ii. 110.20, 142.17, 208.3; iv. 22.1, 122.32, 144.15, 324.2; v. 14.26, 20.5, 142.28, 152.17; vi. 324.25, 482.25

fiscus, revenue, tax, treasury, property: ii. 26.9, 152.38, 192.31, 266.26; iii. 222.19; iv. 172.22; v. 214.18; vi. 340.22

flabellum, whisk, fly-flap: iv. 128.22

flamen, (*1*) bishop: iii. 16.25; v. 310.26, 312.19; vi. 340.19; *see also* episcopus, præsul; (*2*) wind: vi. 450.17, 462.23

flasca, bottle: v. 258.28

flasco, bottle, flask: iii. 222.32

flascula, small flask: ii. 330.30

flebiliter, mournfully, tearfully, lamentably: ii. 234.9; v. 10.9, 312.19; vi. 156.20, 262.10, 292.31, 328.15, 502.25, 556.9

flegmaticus, phlegmatic: vi. 74.9

floccipendo, to disregard, hold cheap: ii. 358.33; iv. 148.35; v. 366.1; vi. 34.31, 118.24, 204.9, 300.13, 408.24, 472.2

fluxus uentris, dysentery: vi. 472.24; *see also* dissenteria

fœdus, *see* fedus

fœnerator, usurer: iii. 102.22, 278.4, 350.4; vi. 46.4, 268.2

fœnum, grass, hay: ii. 40.17, 80.4, 318.28; iv. 108.19 (ter); v. 282.27; vi. 436.8, 440.22, 440.24

foresta, forest, land under forest law: iii. 28.17, 114.6; v. 254.31, 282.1, 288.6, 294.5

forinsecus (sb.), foreigner: iv. 40.23; v. 302.19

forinsecus (adj.), foreign: iii. 112.2; iv. 232.29; v. 258.25

forinsecus (adv.), from without: iv. 208.27

forisfacio, to incur forfeiture: iii. 32.6; vi. 22.21, 230.23, 352.34

forisfactura, amercement, forfeiture: ii. 152.38; iii. 28.17, 28.31; vi. 448.10

fornax, furnace, oven: iii. 144.27, 224.12, 224.13; iv. 208.28; v. 170.2; *see also* clibanus

fornicarius, fornicator: vi. 64.32

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fortuna, fortune: ii. 28.34, 178.21, 220.25, 260.24; iii. 88.20, 100.24, 134.1, 160.10, 324.21; iv. 52.13, 104.10, 120.15, 212.8, 254.27, 290.22; v. 94.11, 172.19, 182.29, 214.16, 238.29, 256.11; vi. 50.20, 146.27, 154.26, 242.30, 302.32, 372.6, 374.2, 498.20, 514.22, 522.21, 544.9

fortunatus, happy, fortunate, prosperous: ii. 352.22; iv. 28.3, 64.26, 160.18; vi. 44.9

forum, market, market-place: i. 143.31; ii. 256.5; iii. 36.19; v. 284.18; vi. 342.24, 344.9

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fossatum, moat: vi. 214.7
fossorium, spade: v. 344.9
framea, sword: vi. 238.31; *see also* ensis, gladius
francigena, Frenchman, Frank: ii. 346.28; iii. 306.12; iv. 34.28, 36.10; v. 28.20, 218.11, 350.30; vi. 132.12, 408.1, 432.5
fraternitas, fraternity, membership of a community (monastic): iii. 166.8, 342.30
fratricidium, fratricide: ii. 170.16
fraudulenter, deceitfully, fraudulently, treacherously: ii. 104.15, 118.8, 142.21, 144.3, 256.24; iii. 306.21; iv. 8.8, 82.10; v. 248.13, 376.8; vi. 102.7, 184.20, 212.30, 266.16, 266.19, 332.17, 342.21, 528.13, 538.18
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fraudulentus (sb.), a deceitful person: i. 186.15
fraudulentus (adj.), deceitful, false: ii. 122.32, 136.14, 214.33; iii. 12.30, 256.22, 314.15; iv. 172.15; v. 56.30, 300.16, 308.3, 364.36; vi. 86.3, 158.3, 222.31, 260.14, 518.16
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friuola (pl.), trifles: v. 64.5
friuolus, trifling, empty, worthless: ii. 98.19, 154.11, 232.14, 312.25; iii. 212.15; iv. 42.17, 78.5, 158.3, 188.2, 192.4; v. 168.4, 290.27, 342.11; vi. 48.19, 294.23, 354.30
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fulgor, lightning: iii. 62.27
fulgur, lightning-flash, thunderbolt: iv. 22.9; v. 342.6; vi. 430.25
funambulus, rope-dancer: v. 98.6; vi. 18.16
fundator, founder (ecclesiastical): ii. 54.9, 62.7, 94.38, 130.3, 294.17; iii. 6.12, 134.29, 260.7; iv. 72.29, 92.7, 116.24, 180.25, 304.32; vi. 36.30
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furiæ (pl.), Furies: vi. 452.15; *see also* erinis
furialis, dreadful, fearful: vi. 514.12
fustaneum, piece of fustian: iii. 190.7, 204.7

galea, helmet: ii. 154.30, 174.12, 176.2; iii. 220.20; iv. 120.12; v. 138.17, 230.18, 246.14; *see also* cassis
galeatus, helmed warrior: vi. 232.9, 234.15, 384.30
ganea, feasting: ii. 248.5.
garba, sheaf of corn: iii. 156.19, 164.24; vi. 438.11
garcio, groom, servant: vi. 458.23
gastaldus, official: v. 250.15; vi. 330.30
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gemini (sb. pl.), twins: iii. 268.3, 268.7; v. 254.21; vi. 328.33, 436.17
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geniculum, horoscope: v. 96.24
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gentilis (adj.), (*1*) heathen, pagan: i. 130.7, 156.31, 173.2; ii. 240.24, 244.36; iii. 4.16, 94.8; iv. 156.14; v. 32.11, 52.8, 54.8, 56.12, 56.20, 62.8, 64.7, 82.35, 84.21, 88.18, 92.20, 104.20, 110.17, 112.23, 112.33, 114.7, 114.19, 116.4, 120.19, 122.1, 132.2, 132.12, 132.21, 134.8, 136.21, 144.30, 148.3, 148.26, 152.27, 162.17, 170.4, 174.11, 180.6, 180.30, 182.4, 182.11, 182.12, 260.21, 270.3, 270.21, 340.21, 340.30, 350.5, 372.10; vi. 108.11, 112.12, 112.26, 134.23, 162.7, 392.7, 404.27, 410.1, 410.15, 410.24, 416.8, 496.2, 498.21, 502.9, 508.13; *see also* ethnicus, infidelis, paganus; (*2*) gentile: i. 143.31

gentilitas, paganism: ii. 226.7; iii. 38.5

genuinus, true, rightful: ii. 86.30, 190.10, 312.21, 352.23; iv. 76.18, 320.16; v. 26.2, 290.14, 372.27; vi. 52.27, 134.6, 168.8, 304.7, 454.28

germanus, brother, half-brother: ii. 172.9, 230.5; iii. 18.17, 102.13, 240.20; iv. 216.2; v. 290.17, 318.5, 318.14, 320.25; vi. 14.4, 14.10, 34.1, 80.3, 86.9, 220.3

ginnasium, discipline, military training: iv. 232.5

giro, to turn, encircle: ii. 174.16, 308.27; v. 132.10

girus, circle, ring: ii. 360.11; v. 132.9, 210.3, 370.4; vi. 36.5, 82.4, 230.5

gladiator, soldier: v. 44.11

gladius, sword: ii. 228.12, 230.33, 240.10, 250.32, 272.12, 322.18; iii. 136.2, 138.2, 162.4, 218.22, 220.22, 326.9; iv. 26.10, 30.10, 30.11, 54.11, 86.12, 180.16, 246.10, 252.25, 332.20; v. 38.4, 56.17, 60.3, 60.16, 60.37, 62.11, 62.18, 82.9, 84.10, 90.4, 96.8, 108.23, 116.15, 122.26, 132.24, 150.24, 162.5, 172.9, 180.11, 182.9, 196.27, 290.26, 360.24; vi. 62.17, 238.25, 246.11, 266.13, 484.18, 504.26, 514.11, 522.26, 524.26, 534.21, 536.10; *see also* framea, ensis, rumphea; **gladius spiritus,** sword of the spirit: vi. 64.16

gleba, (*1*) corpse, mortal clay, relic: ii. 72.22, 80.23, 350.18; iii.

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gradale, a gradual: ii. 48.28
grammatica, grammar: i. 196.19; ii. 20.2, 76.4, 96.15, 108.11, 148.3, 250.26; iii. 164.19; vi. 150.25, 152.25
grammaticus, gramaticus, grammarian: i. 155.32; ii. 296.24; iii. 58.21, 100.4, 140.27, 240.29; iv. 266.28; vi. 150.3
grassator, scoundrel: iv. 146.17
gratulabundus, welcome, congratulating: v. 150.10, 168.1, 174.4
grauamen, trouble, inconvenience: ii. 72.35
grauaringus, *prévôt,* provost: vi. 330.24
gregarius (sb.), stipendiary soldier, common soldier: iv. 108.2; vi. 350.19
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grex, (*1*) flock of animals, crowd of people: iii. 278.16, 314.18, 330.4; iv. 74.14, 94.15; v. 144.30, 152.33, 336.4; vi. 404.21, 436.18, 472.14; (*2*) spiritual flock (monks, Christians): i. 135.16, 154.22, 174.18; ii. 16.1, 42.25, 66.34, 102.7, 244.39, 270.2, 272.15, 344.10; iii. 22.28, 44.5, 148.11, 228.16, 334.32, 356.30; iv. 26.19, 64.17, 116.25, 142.13, 164.10, 174.7, 252.23, 306.4, 308.9; v. 158.10, 212.12, 262.15, 262.17, 286.17; vi. 74.1, 252.3, 256.8, 488.5
griphus, griffin: ii. 62.35
guarda, guard service: iii. 190.5
gubernaculum, helm, rudder, government: iv. 150.4, 276.14, 308.12; v. 210.18, 342.13; vi. 318.4
gubernatio, rule: iv. 178.1
gubernator, (*1*) governor, ruler: iii. 214.20; iv. 138.19; vi. 494.1; (*2*) pilot, steersman: i. 167.34; vi. 86.18, 422.29
gubernatrix, governor: ii. 292.27
guberno, to govern, guide: i. 184.24; ii. 148.1, 210.1, 268.15, 354.37; iii. 36.9, 42.30, 116.26; iv. 120.7, 256.5; v. 176.13, 212.20, 280.31, 322.7, 370.22; vi. 8.1, 38.8, 42.10, 98.13, 138.12, 150.6, 162.16, 170.12, 182.27, 192.1, 294.24, 528.18
guerra, werra, war, especially private or civil war: ii. 106.6, 124.17, 152.6, 360.28; iii. 28.29, 28.30 (bis), 30.1, 78.30; iv. 48.26, 52.8, 168.13, 216.21, 216.23, 286.6, 286.33, 292.15, 292.21, 300.26; v. 212.27, 234.21, 254.2, 310.4, 328.7; vi. 18.8, 24.7, 36.2, 40.2, 40.11, 58.9, 58.25, 80.6, 136.28, 144.11, 192.24, 240.11, 258.3, 260.28, 290.16, 334.2, 346.3, 366.1, 396.19, 408.4, 456.8, 456.31, 482.16, 490.28, 508.14, 522.30, 550.3; *see also* bellum
guiribecci (pl.), abusive nickname for Angevins: vi. 468.8, 472.22; *see also* hilibecci
gumphus, chain, hook: iv. 24.32
guttula, a little drop, droplet: v. 110.28

habitus, habit (of monks or clergy), garb, dress: ii. 14.21, 40.6, 44.6, 44.13, 46.9, 46.18, 46.27, 106.32, 150.16, 248.4, 300.32, 300.37, 324.34, 346.3; iii. 8.5, 10.8, 12.12, 32.11, 82.1, 136.29, 168.2, 192.31, 196.26,

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hasta, (*1*) spear: ii. 174.10; v. 78.17; (*2*) staff of banner: v. 182.1, 182.2; *see also* missilis

hastus, cunning: v. 132.7; vi. 232.8

herbergagium, (?) settlement dues: iii. 208.10

herceator, harrower: v. 20.17

herceo, to harrow: v. 20.17

hereditarius, hæreditarius, hereditary: ii. 14.1, 22.27, 46.34, 260.23, 276.30, 318.5; iii. 88.4, 96.27, 98.11, 144.38, 152.14, 172.34, 208.20, 324.10; iv. 8.23, 28.34, 90.5, 94.2, 122.30, 152.8, 156.1, 158.27, 184.27, 192.28, 206.10, 256.24, 304.2; v. 172.35, 230.3, 244.21, 246.31, 316.28; vi. 16.14, 20.8, 42.25, 100.31, 102.27, 156.11, 196.17, 220.11, 276.20, 284.18, 332.9, 370.22, 372.11

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heremicola, hermit: iii. 290.32, 324.27

heremita, eremita, hermit: ii. 322.34, 324.3; iii. 144.33, 272.6, 342.26; v. 294.22; vi. 86.8; *see also* anachorita

heremiticus, eremitic: ii. 326.2

heremus, wilderness, desert, hermitage: ii. 14.28, 156.12, 158.2, 326.11, 326.15, 326.23, 328.4, 334.14, 334.25; iii. 220.24, 234.6, 268.25, 278.17, 292.5, 324.23; iv. 318.8, 322.8, 324.16; v. 356.16

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hida, hide, measure of land: iii. 140.14, 234.15, 236.15, 236.21, 238.2; iv. 172.19
hilariter, joyfully, cheerfully: ii. 256.9; iii. 206.13, 230.8; iv. 154.6; vi. 100.28, 112.12, 350.6
hilibecci (pl.), abusive nickname for Angevins: vi. 466.20; *see also* guiribecci
himnus, *see* hymnus
hipocrisis, hypocrisy: iv. 312.11
hipocrita, hypocrite: i. 186.15
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historialis, historical: iii. 182.13
historicus, historian: ii. 304.3
historiographus, hystoriographus, historian: i. 130.7, 138.6, 181.15, 191.29; ii. 104.25, 190.12; iii. 8.20; vi. 382.13
histrio, jongleur, minstrel: iii. 102.19; v. 324.7; vi. 120.2; *see also* ioculator
homagium, homage: ii. 310.17, 356.14; iii. 184.22; v. 318.22; vi. 352.32, 364.27, 366.21; *see also* hominium
homicida, murderer: ii. 110.34; iii. 136.12; iv. 134.8, 142.8, 276.10; v. 22.26, 158.8; vi. 130.35, 132.15, 370.16, 460.32
homicidium, murder, homicide: ii. 110.35, 236.33; iii. 132.30, 194.24; iv. 140.2, 146.24; v. 282.9; vi. 372.26, 460.11
hominium, homage: ii. 304.32; iii. 306.18; iv. 84.5, 88.6, 88.14, 92.27; v. 48.30, 50.8, 186.9, 290.19, 298.7, 314.8; vi. 58.21, 302.3, 364.25; *see also* homagium
homo, (*1*) man; human being: *passim;* (*2*) vassal: ii. 16.29, 26.5, 36.35, 60.29, 80.33, 80.35, 82.3, 82.16, 82.26, 96.33, 136.1, 144.6, 314.14; iii. 128.24, 130.7, 134.10, 140.17, 152.35, 154.26, 156.20, 156.26, 156.32, 174.8, 174.17, 174.29, 176.15, 184.1, 194.17, 200.2, 230.19, 232.23,

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homuncio, little man, wretch: iii. 286.22; vi. 72.22

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honorabiliter, honourably, with honour, worthily: ii. 70.8, 84.26, 100.18, 102.1, 112.39, 118.12, 126.14, 146.5, 150.12, 182.13, 336.25, 342.28, 346.22; iii. 250.14; vi. 352.7

honorifice, honourably, with honour or respect: i. 152.19; ii. 12.13, 18.5, 24.8, 56.31, 62.2, 62.29, 74.36, 80.24, 88.10, 94.25, 98.23, 124.23, 142.29, 164.33, 188.27, 192.12, 196.14, 198.24, 294.24, 302.11, 322.3, 352.17; iii. 12.17, 16.5, 20.18, 30.14, 66.16, 66.25, 134.5, 148.26, 160.14, 164.28, 166.18, 170.11, 180.18, 220.6, 226.2, 232.11, 240.7, 258.34, 290.20, 306.3, 320.11, 356.34; iv. 10.12, 12.9,

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honorifico, to honour: ii. 206.24

honorificus, honourable: iv. 298.25; v. 60.5

horoscopus, astrologer: v. 8.25

horribiliter, horribly, dreadfully: ii. 42.31, 246.1; iv. 128.19, 240.4, 242.7, 276.3; v. 84.1; vi. 422.1

hospes, (*1*) stranger, guest, host: i. 171.11; iii. 124.19, 300.1, 300.2, 324.18, 338.15; v. 122.35; vi. 454.29; (*2*) customary tenant, settler, *hôte*: ii. 32.10, 32.11, 32.17, 152.37; iii. 126.11, 156.23, 174.3, 176.10, 202.35, 204.16, 252.1; iv. 136.29; v. 268.4; vi. 454.26, 528.1

hospitalis, keeper of a hospice: ii. 68.32

hospitalitas, hospitality: ii. 296.26; iii. 40.21, 326.12, 340.9

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hospito, hospitor, to entertain, harbour, settle, lodge: ii. 54.15, 54.17, 312.15, 356.29; iii. 208.13, 210.24, 268.27, 272.5, 308.26, 308.29, 320.21; v. 32.27, 64.26, 76.33, 144.2, 148.24, 154.19, 198.4, 256.32, 308.14; vi. 60.19, 130.29, 130.30, 358.18, 398.23, 526.23, 532.11, 536.4

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hypochrita, hipochrita, hypocrite, pretender: ii. 128.14, 340.15; iv. 190.7, 312.8, 326.17

hystoria, *see* historia

ictus, blow, stroke: ii. 178.12; iii. 14.8, 14.11, 74.9; iv. 84.20; v. 84.13, 84.20, 180.4, 196.29, 258.21, 258.36, 288.2, 288.12, 294.5, 360.24; vi. 124.31, 194.20, 204.29, 232.10, 238.26, 246.12, 284.26, 348.31, 398.26, 456.20, 462.19, 542.18

idioma, idiom: iv. 266.29

idolum, ydolum, idol: i. 151.12; ii. 8.7; iii. 38.7, 40.19

ierarcha, dignitary, prelate: vi. 316.9

igniuomus, fire-breathing: iv. 148.30

illiteratus, illitteratus, illiterate: ii. 246.5, 280.2, 296.23; iii. 240.27, 290.32; v. 310.21, 322.1
illucesco, to grow light, shine upon: ii. 250.1; iii. 104.24; v. 66.12, 78.4, 84.21, 92.30
illuminator, illuminator: ii. 86.10
illustres (pl.), distinguished men: iv. 172.7; vi. 16.13, 70.1, 70.19, 118.16
illustris, famous, distinguished, manifest: ii. 74.33, 104.26; iii. 16.11, 20.27, 48.2, 226.6, 226.12, 232.14, 240.30, 254.29, 278.24; iv. 112.15, 144.7, 160.20, 168.31, 328.3, 330.15; v. 62.16, 218.1, 290.3, 314.4, 322.14, 334.1, 348.6; vi. 16.17, 138.22, 148.13, 232.15, 324.14, 432.14
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imberbis, inberbis, beardless: iv. 48.29, 84.6, 236.5; vi. 76.17, 136.9, 152.26, 202.1, 224.3, 330.14, 452.23
imbrex, roof-tile: iv. 208.31; v. 254.23
immaniter, monstrously, savagely: iii. 302.25; iv. 276.7; v. 82.15, 258.35, 286.2, 326.28; vi. 192.27
immisericorditer, mercilessly: v. 82.18, 172.4, 250.16; vi. 32.10, 44.24, 442.10, 456.20
immobiliter, immovably: vi. 170.18
immoderanter, immoderately: v. 104.14
immoderantia, excess: v. 180.14
impacabilis, implacable: ii. 258.2; iv. 196.10; vi. 18.2, 178.8, 280.13, 468.31
impacabiliter, relentlessly: iv. 274.19
imperator, emperor: i. 153.12, 153.14, 154.25, 154.29, 155.6, 156.9, 156.22, 157.16, 158.19, 160.30, 161.18, 162.12, 162.14, 162.26, 184.19, 188.14, 190.7, 199.15, 199.27; ii. 66.22 (bis), 88.32, 100.14, 188.7, 202.19, 206.18, 222.30, 282.12; iii. 46.24, 58.4, 70.11, 70.31, 74.30, 76.1, 76.17, 76.31, 82.14, 82.18, 82.22, 82.25, 84.11, 86.10, 86.22, 92.11, 180.23, 264.27, 310.32; iv. 12.3, 12.18, 14.13, 14.15, 18.5, 18.15, 18.26, 22.7, 22.8, 26.33, 34.3, 34.32, 38.13 (bis), 56.5, 318.32; v. 8.13, 32.6, 32.7, 32.17, 36.17, 38.25, 40.13, 40.22, 42.2, 42.7, 42.22, 42.24, 42.26, 44.21, 44.32, 44.33, 46.4, 46.25, 48.6, 48.8, 48.24, 48.27, 50.3, 50.6, 50.29, 54.23, 56.2, 56.5, 56.14, 76.3, 76.11, 88.24, 88.25, 106.13, 106.21, 106.29, 108.2, 118.26, 128.20, 134.24, 158.4, 180.21, 196.3, 196.15, 196.25, 198.7, 198.12, 198.16, 198.24, 198.27, 198.32, 200.1, 200.7, 200.11, 270.21, 272.9, 274.9, 274.13, 274.34, 276.7, 276.23, 326.6, 326.27, 326.34, 328.1, 328.7, 328.11, 328.27, 330.3, 330.14, 332.4, 332.28, 334.1, 334.6, 334.12, 338.9, 338.11, 340.9, 350.30, 352.6, 354.15, 378.9; vi. 70.2, 70.22, 80.10, 100.25, 102.8, 102.17, 104.4, 104.14, 128.22, 130.18, 132.27, 132.28, 162.9, 166.31, 168.9, 172.28, 184.6, 184.9, 202.16, 242.30, 262.30, 266.4, 266.10, 266.15, 268.23, 274.19, 304.17, 360.16, 360.24, 362.6, 364.20, 382.5, 402.7, 420.18, 426.25, 428.3, 502.28, 504.5, 504.18, 504.28, 506.1, 506.8, 506.20, 506.28, 508.5, 508.7, 528.12, 510.4
imperatorius, imperial: v. 56.12, 350.26; *see also* imperialis

imperatrix, empress: ii. 88.32; iv. 272.32; v. 200.17; vi. 360.17, 360.25
imperialis (sb.), emperor's man: iii. 310.34
imperialis (adj.), imperial, royal: ii. 202.23, iv. 12.23, 14.2; v. 104.30, 180.20, 196.22, 200.13, 276.9, 290.14; vi. 240.24, 504.17; *see also* imperatorius
imperiose, imperiously, peremptorily: ii. 94.36, 308.1; iii. 308.21; iv. 280.9; vi. 78.10, 430.18
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impetitor, accuser: vi. 268.17
impexus, uncombed: vi. 374.17
implacabiliter, implacably: ii. 96.26, 318.15
implacito, to implead, sue: vi. 12.19
impotiono, to poison: ii. 304.18
inæqualis, unequal, uneven: iii. 344.18; v. 198.31
inæqualitas, infirmity: iii. 298.23
incarcero, to imprison: iv. 42.32; v. 310.24; vi. 112.19, 544.10, 548.13
incassum, in vain: iii. 182.26; v. 56.28, 74.20, 162.35; vi. 32.26
incementatus, without mortar: v. 104.17
incircumcisus, uncircumcised: iii. 326.15
incommutabiliter, immutably: ii. 292.20
incomparabiliter, incomparably: v. 126.16
inconcinnus, rough: v. 164.3
inconsolabiliter, unconsolably: vi. 300.22, 328.25
inconsuetus, unusual: v. 140.21
inconsulte, unadvisedly: ii. 228.3; vi. 14.6, 310.26
inconsultus, recklessly, without consultation: v. 144.23, 154.2, 256.6; vi. 28.9
incredibiliter, unbelievably: iii. 88.9
incrementum, increase, increment: ii. 194.1; iii. 280.12
inculpabiliter, without blame: vi. 302.5
incus, anvil: v. 114.20
indagatio, investigation: iii. 68.10, 322.21
indagator, tracker-dog: iii. 330.13
indago (vb.), to investigate, search into, hunt for: i. 130.31, 132.1, 150.7, 195.10; ii. 66.18, 94.27, 96.37, 238.21, 294.33, 320.17; iii. 6.10, 168.2, 276.18; iv. 38.31, 98.25, 184.14, 190.16, 276.19; v. 122.12, 176.22, 190.8, 238.36, 264.22, 334.14, 368.14; vi. 26.29, 52.33, 222.14, 300.17, 370.25, 428.19, 506.22
indago (sb.), an investigation: i. 130.35; ii. 76.3, 246.18; iii. 290.35; vi. 100.11
indifficulter, easily: v. 64.32, 66.33, 132.10

indigena, denizen, inhabitant: i. 189.10; ii. 68.23, 72.16, 96.3, 182.20, 202.4, 220.23, 266.10, 268.2; iii. 6.17, 10.24, 46.4, 150.13, 306.11; iv. 10.24, 20.34, 34.1, 126.14, 144.15, 172.18, 198.18, 208.1, 228.4; v. 24.13, 64.24, 66.24, 72.6, 126.8, 126.15, 160.16, 220.18, 222.34, 242.23, 254.3, 276.4, 340.21; vi. 52.30, 58.30, 196.10, 208.8, 216.24, 280.33, 404.19, 470.10

indignus, unworthy, unfit, shameful: i. 186.10; ii. 80.37, 180.1, 238.2, 288.7, 358.1; iii. 110.3, 152.2, 172.23, 346.18; iv. 18.21, 24.5, 82.34, 196.30, 242.21, 278.17; v. 22.24, 292.13; vi. 46.23, 62.23, 94.29, 142.7, 160.5, 322.5, 322.9, 542.3

indiscretus, careless, undiscriminating: vi. 292.4

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inducio, to delay: vi. 132.2, 542.3

inedicibilis, unspeakable: i. 186.26; iii. 288.13; iv. 244.6

inedicibiliter, unspeakably, indescribably: iii. 230.6; iv. 298.17; vi. 470.27; *see also* inenarrabiliter

inenarrabiliter, indescribably: iv. 248.3; *see also* inedicibiliter

ineuitabiliter, inevitably: iii. 334.5; iv. 80.8

inexplebiliter, insatiably: v. 74.25, 202, 7; vi. 398.5

inexpugnabilis, impregnable, unbreachable, inviolable: ii. 180.11; iii. 38.26, 52.9; iv. 152.11, 282.1; v. 50.26, 66.31, 150.15, 254.27; vi. 118.26, 118.38, 280.28, 400.5

infans, child: i. 136.29, 137.2, 138.3; ii. 18.25, 54.29, 96.8, 232.11, 286.24, 324.18; iv. 76.23, 294.19; v. 282.21, 364.26; vi. 70.5, 162.28, 192.25, 440.19, 440.21

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infantula, infantulus, baby: ii. 54.27; vi. 368.6

infatigabiliter, indefatigably: i. 188.19; ii. 128.9; iv. 26.25, 92.24

infeliciter, unfortunately, miserably: ii. 228.3; iii. 352.19; vi. 508.1

infidelis (sb.), untrustworthy person, infidel: ii. 44.19; v. 338.15, 338.27; vi. 406.2

infidelis (adj.), unfaithful, treacherous: ii. 320.13; vi. 206.3; *see also* infidus

infidelitas, treachery, disloyalty, unfaithfulness: iii. 172.14, 298.20, 346.32; iv. 224.32; v. 286.33; *see also* perfida, proditio

infidus (sb.), traitor: iv. 158.3; vi. 18.1, 340.26, 494.24; *see also* proditor

infidus (adj.), faithless, treacherous: ii. 184.23, 220.10, 314.19; iii. 310.20; iv. 24.18, 126.11, 268.16; v. 124.20, 214.26, 248.11, 326.34; vi. 196.12, 258.3, 484.2, 530.24; *see also* infidelis

infirmaria, infirmary (monastic): ii. 44.8; iii. 202.19

infractor, violator: iii. 32.13

infrunite, foolishly: iii. 198.33; *see also* insulse

infula, chasuble: ii. 148.36
infulatus, wearing a chasuble, vested as a bishop: iii. 14.9; vi. 170.20
ingruentia, onset, attack: v. 52.13, 76.18, 78.13, 82.17
inhianter, avidly, eagerly: iii. 184.31; iv. 178.11; v. 148.20; vi. 484.12
inimicicia, inimicitia, enmity, act of hostility: i. 152.14; ii. 204.7; iii. 282.10; iv. 114.7, 146.36, 220.3; v. 58.3, 312.35, 322.5; vi. 44.15, 184.13, 354.2, 442.12, 472.9
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inimicus (adj.), hostile, inimical: ii. 50.30; iii. 4.14; iv. 140.21, 234.18; v. 78.10; vi. 40.11
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iniusticia, iniustitia, injustice: ii. 310.8; iii. 320.32
iniustus, iniustum (sb.), unjust person or thing: iii. 272.32; v. 314.15; vi. 292.23
iniustus (adj.), unjust, wrong: ii. 26.11, 26.21, 120.28, 134.21, 202.4, 208.20; iii. 100.20; iv. 42.17, 174.34, 220.3, 296.25; v. 214.8; vi. 16.23, 162.12, 268.12, 434.12, 452.14
inopinabiliter, unexpectedly: v. 150.5, 336.18, 374.9; vi. 474.31
inopine, unexpectedly: v. 62.9
inquietas, turbulence, disturbance: vi. 176.10
inquilinus, landless person: iii. 222.33
inreuerberatus, in direct contact: v. 62.18
insatiabiliter, insatiably: ii. 6.15; iii. 282.34; v. 226.3, 328.4; vi. 244.32, 432.14
inscitia, ignorance: ii. 238.3; iii. 8.28, 304.21; vi. 240.26
inscriptio, inscription, title-deed: iii. 328.5
inscriptum, inscription, title: ii. 114.17
inseparabiliter, inseparably: iii. 348.29; v. 36.12
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instigator, instigator: iii. 190.33
instituo, to institute, establish, teach, resolve: i. 130.17; ii. 18.37, 68.21, 74.27, 242.26, 248.10; iii. 22.13, 56.13, 118.10, 146.5, 182.10, 228.11, 266.5, 266.16, 280.19; iv. 186.16, 304.17; v. 120.16, 174.18, 208.2; vi. 144.3, 152.2
institutio, institucio, institution, foundation, ordinance, instruction, custom: i. 165.32, 166.17; ii. 50.13, 246.6, 288.5, 288.8; iii. 8.8; iv. 164.18, 174.21, 318.14, 320.2, 322.19, 326.15, 332.3; vi. 290.27, 424.16, 488.5; *see also* institutum
institutor, teacher: ii. 254.4; vi. 358.26
institutum, mode of life, custom, institution: ii. 74.5, 240.4, 248.6, 270.10, 286.5; iii. 148.12; iv. 314.11; vi. 64.17, 426.23; *see also* institutio
instructio, instruction, guidance: ii. 254.22; iii. 346.3; v. 264.9; vi. 552.18
insulse, foolishly: iii. 242.30; *see also* infrunite
intellectualis, spiritual, mental: iii. 212.8
intellectulus, feeble understanding: i. 150.7
intellectus, understanding, intellect: i. 169.28; iii. 168.1; iv. 266.23; v. 298.17; vi. 204.6
intelligentia, meaning: ii. 252.14
intercapedo, interspace, space: v. 94.15; vi. 134.19
internuncius, intermediary, messenger: iv. 268.22; v. 48.29, 86.30, 150.31
interpres, interpreter, expounder, agent between two parties: i. 180.2, 188.21, 191.29, 195.9; ii. 256.14; v. 82.33, 86.32, 166.27
interpretatio, interpretation, explanation: iii. 68.8; iv. 228.20
interpretor, to explain, interpret: i. 164.30, 169.9, 186.12; iii. 260.15, 260.21; iv. 162.31; v. 24.34; vi. 226.28
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lanceo, to throw a lance: ii. 30.2
lanceola, a small lance: v. 96.13
laneus, woollen, ii. 326.20
lanigerus, fleecy: v. 116.1
lanista, one who stimulates to violence: vi. 30.26, 354.12
lanx, scale of a balance: ii. 202.7, 274.3
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lares, hearth, dwelling house: ii. 212.26; iii. 100.25, 224.4, 224.15, 286.17; iv. 86.33; v. 122.25, 292.3; vi. 36.9, 116.13, 198.3, 352.12, 406.12, 472.12, 472.26
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largitio, prodigality, open-handedness: ii. 148.28, 276.31; iv. 92.10; v. 312.12; vi. 276.15, 340.18
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latialis, lacialis (adj.), Latin: vi. 202.5, 254.29; *see also* latinus
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laudabiliter, laudably, in a praiseworthy manner: ii. 10.24, 12.32, 18.24, 22.4, 112.10, 114.7, 128.7, 130.3, 146.17, 184.27, 186.20, 196.8, 240.20, 294.21, 302.21, 340.27; iii. 10.6, 74.23, 84.23, 88.17, 128.16, 148.13, 168.32, 240.20, 256.8, 266.18; iv. 116.7, 120.8, 152.31, 176.3, 198.13, 274.15, 308.14, 324.7; v. 54.9, 128.1, 204.11, 238.6, 368.35; vi. 76.3, 138.9, 170.31, 310.11, 314.24, 358.25, 396.4, 464.23

lauacrum, lauachrum, baptism: ii. 292.10; iii. 78.21; *see also* baptisma

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lecator, lecher: iii. 106.20; vi. 286.20

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lepus, hare: vi. 186.3, 198.17

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leuga, league (measure): ii. 46.41; iii. 16.24, 288.8; vi. 106.3, 108.3, 240.11, 480.21

leuita, deacon: ii. 290.1; iv. 306.27; vi. 144.17

lex, a law, law: i. 135.22, 139.3, 165.1, 170.5, 173.19, 179.22, 180.2, 195.9; ii. 46.14, 48.30, 50.15, 86.26, 178.3, 208.16, 228.36, 232.19, 246.30, 250.27, 264.23, 272.10, 272.14, 272.22, 272.27, 276.33, 284.27, 298.26, 304.1, 314.27, 318.12, 344.11, 352.25; iii. 4.8, 26.2, 26.15, 30.2, 52.17, 56.27, 68.10, 80.31, 92.28, 112.12, 116.19, 168.8, 170.2, 184.14, 254.4, 260.35, 266.18, 270.33, 296.8, 334.34, 342.31, 346.7; iv. 6.15, 6.21, 8.2, 14.6, 26.23, 50.12, 80.22, 92.23, 96.25, 110.29, 122.21, 134.22, 146.30, 154.3, 166.31, 174.16, 176.9, 176.36, 188.11, 190.8,

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libellus, book: i. 178.17; ii. 16.12, 100.6, 188.30, 252.7, 252.12, 304.7, 360.25; iii. 6.19, 6.23, 206.25, 210.27, 260.5, 346.12, 360.11, 360.12; iv. 130.18; v. 6.25, 208.3; vi. 168.25, 358.21, 386.18

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liberalitas, generosity, magnificence, nobility: ii. 104.19, 196.4, 240.18; iii. 132.9, 254.5; iv. 176.2, 236.20; v. 368.7; vi. 100.25, 276.14

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lignarium, wood, timber: iv. 330.7; v. 164.2
ligo, mattock, grub-axe: v. 344.9; vi. 336.22, 384.13
lima, file: vi. 8.24
limpha, water: iii. 286.33; vi. 436.22, 480.22
linteamen, linen-cloth: iii. 290.28; iv. 102.1
linum, flax: iii. 174.28
lipotosmia, fainting: iv. 210.13
lippitudo, blindness: vi. 302.6
lis, strife, struggle, dispute: ii. 66.36, 270.8, 356.29, 356.30; iv. 162.3; v. 66.14, 290.23, 290.30; vi. 44.13, 140.22, 398.17, 536.14
litigium, litigation, quarrel: ii. 78.15; iii. 8.21, 16.28, 196.12; iv. 212.20
litigo, to dispute, sue at law: ii. 66.6, 356.22; iv. 80.14, 328.26; vi. 54.22, 94.32
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litteralis, relating to learning: ii. 346.30
litteratorius, literary, scholarly: i. 130.19; ii. 250.17; iv. 172.5, 272.21
litteratus (sb.), a learned man: ii. 244.4
litteratus (adj.), learned, liberally educated: ii. 238.9; iii. 148.10, 206.21; iv. 190.33, 266.20; vi. 50.29, 318.6, 488.9
litura, a blot: ii. 126.26
locusta, locust: i. 189.2; iv. 228.7; v. 30.11, 346.32; vi. 66.18, 106.26
lolium, tares: iv. 312.9
longanimis, long-suffering: v. 86.25
longeuitas, longevity: iv. 340.4; vi. 314.8
longeuus, long-lived: iii. 148.22
longiuscule, rather far: v. 60.6
loquela, speech, language: ii. 272.11; iii. 230.3; iv. 78.26, 100.17; v. 326.24, 338.33; vi. 364.4, 488.16
lorica, hauberk: ii. 176.2; iv. 120.12, 140.23; v. 84.12, 114.22, 246.14; vi. 238.26, 344.5, 404.7
loricatus, wearing a hauberk: ii. 172.27; iv. 212.30, 278.23; v. 96.7; vi. 232.8, 346.27
loripes, cripple: iv. 160.4; vi. 348.7
ludicrum, sport, trifle: iv. 320.15; v. 302.20
luminarium, light, lamp: iii. 184.12, 186.12, 234.19, 250.27
lupano, to frequent brothels: v. 98.34
lupinus, wolfish: i. 154.24; ii. 112.1; iii. 348.14; iv. 174.8; v. 202.13, 322.12; vi. 56.31
lupus, wolf: i. 173.15; ii. 112.1, 150.39, 246.1, 270.3, 314.23; iii. 90.28, 106.11, 292.8; iv. 20.24, 64.17, 146.35, 178.34; v. 132.22, 230.15, 326.30, 362.11, 372.18; vi. 10.36, 46.6, 74.2, 110.9, 142.18, 244.29, 310.19, 384.23, 442.11, 450.27, 458.31, 472.4, 534.17
lustrum, a period of five years, a lustre: ii. 320.4; iii. 168.27; vi. 138.2
luterium, covering: ii. 332.13

machina, siege-engine: iv. 158.16, 232.20, 234.10, 234.27, 288.25; v. 52.6, 138.6, 138.15, 138.20, 162.31, 162.34, 164.10, 164.13, 164.15, 176.32; vi. 102.10, 342.4, 408.26, 540.23; *see also* berfredum, opus
machinamentum, trick, device, plot: ii. 118.7; v. 302.25; vi. 208.7; *see also* machinatio
machinatio, trick, device, plot: ii. 316.14; iii. 40.22; iv. 90.1, 152.18, 172.5, 220.30, 232.18, 292.1; v. 122.2, 310.4; vi. 52.22, 158.15, 374.11, 494.12, 510.7, 516.12; *see also* machinamentum
machomaria, mosque: v. 82.4, 84.31, 110.21
macilentus, lean, emaciated: ii. 300.32; iii. 346.1; vi. 274.15
macio, mason: iii. 328.6; vi. 280.27; *see also* cementarius
magicus, magical: iii. 354.38, 356.13
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magisterium, office of master or superior, instruction: ii. 18.25, 132.11, 132.28, 250.23; iii. 8.1, 158.31, 256.5, 264.12, 346.37; vi. 312.14

magistratus, (*1*) office or rank of a superior: ii. 164.33; iv. 170.29, 314.31; v. 212.14; (*2*) magistrate, military or civil official, dignitary: v. 166.6, 192.27; vi. 88.10, 136.27, 264.27

magnanimitas, magnanimity, greatness of spirit: iii. 160.9; iv. 36.28, 150.20, 180.17, 194.28, 290.5; v. 308.1; vi. 118.36, 242.11, 356.29, 414.14

magnanimus, magnanimous, illustrious, endowed with the qualities appropriate to high station: ii. 74.33, 230.22, 146.15, 102.13, 118.4, 130.10, 130.22, 154.9, 180.1, 306.20; iii. 108.27, 150.20, 164.1, 178.38, 204.5; iv. 12.8, 14.5, 20.20, 32.18, 42.21, 62.30, 114.33, 132.30, 152.23, 160.15, 230.12; v. 86.13, 102.21, 118.24, 130.26, 208.23, 260.7, 342.16, 362.22; vi. 48.11, 102.4, 132.12, 206.27, 268.18, 354.32, 410.33, 504.12, 504.20, 506.5

magnates (pl.), great barons, important persons: iii. 216.3; iv. 336.24; vi. 306.10, 364.26; *see also* magnati, maiores, optimates

magnati (pl.), great barons, important persons: iii. 112.19, 232.17, 238.28; iv. 226.14; v. 202.4, 208.27, 342.24; vi. 22.19, 52.9, 60.29, 76.11, 138.4, 192.1, 392.4, 542.26; *see also* magnates, maiores, optimates

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magnipendo, to prize greatly: v. 150.6

maiestas, (*1*) royal or imperial majesty, authority: ii. 142.32, 208.6, 254.1; iii. 310.20, 312.18; iv. 12.9, 134.28; v. 186.8, 328.26, 328.31, 332.17, 350.27; vi. 28.4; (*2*) divine majesty: ii. 72.31, 148.13; iii. 144.29; iv. 58.33; v. 264.13, 278.14; vi. 62.8, 302.5, 446.16

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malefactor, evil-doer, malefactor: iv. 134.18, 146.16; v. 128.6; vi. 56.26

maleficus, magician, sorcerer: vi. 52.18, 52.19

malefidus, faithless, unfaithful: ii. 144.15; iii. 102.29; iv. 14.27, 40.25; v. 234.20; vi. 22.28

maliuolens (sb.), ill-wisher, enemy: v. 292.27
maliuolentia, maleuolentia, hatred, enmity: ii. 90.25, 92.15, 208.24; iii. 160.23; v. 300.18, 334.29, 368.29; vi. 86.5, 148.18, 206.8, 246.1, 468.31
mancipium, hired servant: iii. 100.7; iv. 320.18; vi. 114.31
manerium, manarium, manor: ii. 266.12, 242.7; iii. 140.12, 162.16, 236.19, 238.8; *see also* mansio, villa
manico, to hurry away, to visit early: iv. 102.1, 332.10; v. 292.4; vi. 106.11
mannus, horse: iv. 240.11; vi. 240.30; *see also* caballus, cornipes, equus, dextrarius, palefridus, sonipes
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mansionarius, one in charge of a residence: vi. 430.17
mantica, cloak-bag: ii. 352.10; vi. 66.25, 474.10
manupastus, 'mainpast', membership of a household: iii. 32.4, 32.19
manus, (*1*) hand: i. 159.25, 185.14; ii. 44.36, 48.25, 48.28, 50.27, 56.9, 64.38, 72.2, 76.10, 80.7, 86.11, 118.25, 128.24, 134.6, 156.14, 156.31, 162.7, 162.18, 172.29, 260.25, 288.12, 288.21, 314.31, 324.17, 328.33, 330.16, 334.11, 334.36; iii. 8.31, 14.14, 16.19, 42.5, 42.14, 160.36, 184.8, 198.11, 222.24, 224.8, 242.25, 276.6, 284.29, 286.5, 316.20, 316.22, 326.11, 342.24, 352.4, 352.36, 354.14, 354.17; iv. 8.21, 42.25, 60.25, 94.1, 120.23, 132.11, 188.27, 200.31, 218.20, 236.7, 242.31, 244.1, 244.4, 244.6, 246.3, 246.5, 258.13, 258.21, 258.25, 274.31, 276.8, 282.21, 294.20, 298.13, 306.15, 314.5, 314.28, 328.7; v. 4.3, 12.4, 22.25, 22.26, 44.4, 102.20, 104.8, 114.26 (bis), 178.10, 200.23, 250.17, 250.28, 276.3, 290.26, 312.16, 348.14, 354.15, 362.8, 368.7, 370.12; vi. 26.19, 44.29, 58.23, 60.7, 62.18, 66.27, 72.9, 72.12, 72.14, 92.7, 102.26, 108.14, 132.4, 132.15, 136.9, 164.1, 168.18, 170.10, 212.29, 254.24, 276.9, 292.30, 298.14, 314.6, 318.19, 346.28, 352.9, 352.12, 354.13, 374.2, 376.9, 388.26, 402.10, 404.8, 428.20, 492.3, 512.9, 512.19, 512.30, 534.24, 544.20; (*2*) military force: i. 153.1, 159.24; ii. 12.7, 24.14, 78.19, 82.2, 100.13, 116.15, 116.16, 180.32, 222.13, 224.14, 230.29; iii. 90.35, 110.7, 308.22; iv. 20.17, 26.28, 28.20, 46.26, 48.6, 50.32, 74.9, 86.7, 144.23, 148.24, 148.26, 148.29, 208.17, 238.9, 298.7; v. 106.9, 128.26, 140.14, 150.25, 156.29, 158.9, 176.14, 178.18, 182.21, 186.7, 258.4, 274.34, 282.17, 300.13, 304.5, 330.22, 332.14; vi. 158.24, 160.2, 204.21, 204.27, 222.3, 228.6, 234.11, 370.7, 444.3, 458.7, 514.27, 518.22, 520.2, 520.14, 524.11, 548.11; *see also* acies, agmen, cohors, copia, exercitus, phalanx, turma; (*3*) possession, holding (of property, rights): ii. 358.34; iii. 26.27, 98.12, 100.11, 200.20; iv. 176.3, 338.10; v. 318.29; (*4*) handwriting: iii. 176.13, 336.12; iv. 316.21; **larga manus,** bounty: ii. 196.12; vi. 38.25, 172.3
manzerinus, bastard, mongrel: v. 156.24

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marcha, march, borderland: iii. 28.29, 136.29
marchio, marquis, marcher-lord: ii. 130.5, 144.16, 306.34; iii. 132.9, 308.24; iv. 138.24, 144.10, 160.6; v. 34.10, 270.7; vi. 352.18, 370.4, 374.1, 378.5, 394.17; *see also* marchisus
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martirizo, to martyr, suffer martyrdom: i. 154.21; ii. 244.37; iii. 38.6; iv. 24.27
martulus, small hammer: vi. 336.23
matricula, register, roll: vi. 126.7
matrimonium, marriage, matrimony: i. 157.26; ii. 8.2, 22.20, 102.31, 262.29, 314.16, 352.28, 358.30; iii. 128.3; iv. 22.22, 160.22, 168.19, 182.5, 198.11, 202.6; *see also* coniugium, desponsatio
matrina, godmother: iii. 32.26
maxuca, mace: iv. 238.13
mediastinus, a servant: v. 152.32
medicamen, medicine, remedy: iv. 316.5
medicamentum, remedy: iv. 248.32; v. 234.23; vi. 66.3
medicatio, remedy, cure: iv. 316.6
medicina, medicine, balm: i. 189.33; iv. 24.21; **ars medicinæ, ars medicinalis,** medicine as a liberal art: i. 189.15; ii. 28.26, 76.7; iii. 20.5, 150.20
medicinalis, medical: iii. 208.3; iv. 28.17; vi. 52.29
medico, to heal, cure: iii. 170.26, 298.5
medicus, physician, doctor: i. 164.27; ii. 76.6, 88.16, 88.20, 122.38, 154.4, 154.21, 162.8, 166.23; iii. 118.29, 126.2, 170.36, 208.1, 296.29, 296.32; iv. 8.14, 10.7, 28.16, 30.15, 96.14; v. 8.23, 204.3; vi. 52.31, 318.16, 536.27; *see also* archiater, phisicus
mediocres (pl.), men of moderate rank or means: ii. 4.33, 20.20; 120.19, 198.11, 202.3; iii. 118.14, 210.28, 270.1, 310.16; iv. 186.24, 302.23, 330.15; vi. 330.27, 476.35, 508.22
mediocris (adj.), middling, mod-

mediocris (*cont.*):
erate: ii. 42.16, 106.20; iii. 124.14, 160.9, 346.1, 346.30, 350.18; iv. 126.30, 166.20, 266.14; vi. 268.21, 274.15, 338.13
mediocritas, moderate means: iii. 124.16
mediocriter, moderately: ii. 296.5; iii. 148.24
meditullium, midst, middle: iv. 208.18; v. 220.17; vi. 240.12
mellifico, to make honey: iii. 172.24
mellifluus, honeyed, sweet: ii. 294.31, 298.10; iii. 296.16; v. 358.18; vi. 140.7
melotina, sheep-skin: ii. 332.13
memoriter, from memory: vi. 256.7
mercator, merchant: ii. 210.29; iv. 280.6, 280.9; v. 20.15
mercatum, mercatus, (*1*) market: iii. 152.24; iv. 136.29; vi. 188.2, 342.19; (*2*) trade, traffic: iv. 18.21; v. 304.30; (*3*) right of purchase: v. 30.17, 32.7, 44.10, 48.11, 72.17, 144.15, 152.16, 276.27; (*4*) provisions: v. 42.28, 48.25, 48.31, 50.14, 50.28, 68.29, 142.30, 144.4, 150.20, 326.7; vi. 118.14.
mercennarius, hireling: iii. 98.16, 292.7; v. 202.26; *see also* mancipium, stipendiarius
merces, (*1*) wages, reward: i. 143.26, 186.18, 186.22; ii. 256.5, 292.23; iii. 262.16; iv. 104.5; v. 316.4, 360.2; vi. 240.20, 448.14; (*2*) spiritual reward: ii. 20.19; iii. 144.8, 198.27, 214.14; v. 192.12; vi. 170.1, 498.20; *see also* stipendia
mercimonium, merchandise, trade: iii. 124.11; iv. 224.24; v. 304.29, 334.10, 350.18; *see also* mercatum
mersor, diver: vi. 306.10
mespuleus, medlar: iv. 238.10
metropolis, metropolitan city, chief city: ii. 68.17, 244.35, 254.13; iii. 22.27, 94.23, 282.25; iv. 56.13, 170.9, 170.12, 176.17, 176.32, 220.19, 226.21, 262.24, 310.6; v. 68.32, 136.16, 158.19, 186.17, 296.15, 298.25, 354.23; vi. 170.30, 222.27, 282.2, 360.12, 360.16, 424.10, 478.10, 502.30, 528.17
metropolita, archbishop, metropolitan: ii. 88.28, 156.2, 340.31; iii. 12.4, 22.8, 170.14; iv. 6.7, 170.19, 268.3; vi. 140.24, 252.25, 254.4; *see also* archiepiscopus, archipresul, metropolitanus
metropolitanus (sb.), archbishop, metropolitan: ii. 62.25, 140.14, 182.22, 200.11, 214.18, 242.29, 280.7; iii. 22.20; iv. 10.15; vi. 252.22, 320.2, 428.12; *see also* archiepiscopus, metropolita, metropolus
metropolitanus (adj.), archiepiscopal, metropolitan: ii. 200.17, 284.32, 302.26; iii. 24.1, 48.26, 84.20, 90.2, 90.4, 92.7; iv. 54.24, 100.22, 110.25, 174.33, 176.27, 310.9; v. 210.16, 236.18, 294.13 vi. 38.17, 450.1, 508.24
metropolus, archbishop: i. 160.12
miles, knight, mounted soldier, i. 161.14; ii. 12.10, 12.21, 14.7, 22.19, 24.12, 38.2, 38.3, 40.14, 54.15, 54.17, 54.21, 56.14, 56.15, 60.21, 84.6, 86.1, 90.13, 92.19, 92.21, 96.33, 98.12, 110.15, 120.20, 122.8, 122.30, 124.13, 132.2, 132.3, 132.5, 132.32, 142.20, 152.8, 152.14, 154.8, 166.12 (bis), 168.13, 168.30, 170.10, 176.6, 178.8, 180.19, 184.10, 196.11, 204.6, 204.14, 204.19, 208.12, 212.35, 214.7, 218.17, 220.5, 220.29, 220.33, 222.2, 226.15, 230.19, 234.14,

236.14, 236.16, 266.28, 266.29, 282.10, 306.25, 310.33, 358.6, 360.11, 360.14; iii. 20.3, 86.17, 90.38, 126.10, 136.11, 156.1, 158.11, 160.18, 160.7, 160.24, 164.15, 174.20, 176.27, 180.19, 184.19, 184.24, 186.33, 194.6, 198.25, 206.3, 206.6, 216.12, 216.21, 216.23, 226.6, 226.9, 242.23, 246.16, 248.7, 248.23, 248.25, 248.28, 256.16, 256.20, 280.11, 312.31, 330.29, 348.20; iv. 14.5, 18.10, 18.11, 22.4, 28.26, 32.1, 40.5, 42.5, 42.17, 42.34, 48.11, 48.17, 48.27, 52.24, 68.28, 72.2, 72.4, 72.22, 78.8, 84.20, 84.25, 86.27, 88.16, 94.10, 102.18, 118.23, 124.17, 124.22, 126.16, 136.8, 136.9, 138.16, 140.24, 140.25, 140.27, 144.9, 148.21, 148.24, 154.16, 154.23, 178.13, 194.33, 196.31, 200.3, 200.18, 200.30, 208.21, 212.30 (bis), 216.5, 216.35, 220.24, 222.8, 222.11, 230.8, 232.19, 240.39, 244.11, 244.16, 246.9, 246.13, 246.15, 246.18, 246.28, 248.9, 248.29, 248.35, 252.2, 258.19, 258.24, 258.30, 258.33, 268.26, 270.18, 278.23, 280.18, 282.4, 286.8, 286.20, 288.2, 288.3, 288.9, 292.3, 292.14, 294.16, 298.29, 320.16, 328.2, 338.23; v. 28.13, 32.1, 32.34, 34.7, 34.31, 38.33, 46.27, 54.1, 60.8, 60.28, 62.5, 62.17, 64.20, 66.3, 68.2, 68.14, 70.15, 72.24, 76.1, 76.27, 76.31, 76.33, 78.33, 80.9, 84.26, 100.20, 102.14, 102.25, 118.15, 118.18, 118.24, 122.16, 124.1, 126.1, 130.26 (bis), 132.5, 132.19, 134.2, 138.32, 142.15, 146.13, 146.25, 150.11, 152.28, 158.1, 158.21, 158.30, 160.22, 160.25, 162.9, 168.15, 170.3, 174.14, 182.6, 182.36, 184.2, 186.25, 186.27, 196.20, 216.11, 216.19, 230.24, 238.15, 238.27, 240.13, 242.11, 242.12, 242.22, 244.12, 244.16, 244.20, 244.32, 246.14, 246.18, 254.4, 258.11, 266.27, 276.22, 282.2, 282.3, 282.11, 288.13, 288.19, 294.1, 306.10, 316.15, 344.10, 344.32, 346.26, 348.16, 348.20, 362.18, 368.31, 370.19, 372.4; vi. 24.30, 30.28, 52.8, 68.16, 72.7, 72.20, 74.5, 80.2, 80.27, 82.1, 82.3, 82.7, 84.8, 84.32, 90.6, 90.27, 92.9, 104.25, 106.6, 106.29, 108.10, 110.14, 110.19, 110.25, 112.1, 112.17, 112.22, 112.28, 114.17, 116.17, 116.26, 120.19, 120.33, 124.7, 124.22, 126.3, 126.5, 136.2, 156.24, 158.9, 160.11, 178.27, 178.29, 182.13, 182.15, 184.21, 192.16, 192.19, 192.25, 194.15, 194.21, 196.25, 200.9, 204.22, 204.26, 206.21, 208.1, 210.30, 212.14, 212.23, 218.9, 218.14, 220.23, 220.34, 222.5, 222.8, 230.2, 230.17, 232.4, 234.1, 234.6, 234.12, 236.8, 236.20, 238.5, 238.14, 238.20, 240.1, 242.24, 246.18, 250.4, 252.11, 252.13, 260.15, 290.20, 294.12, 296.23, 306.15, 310.4, 310.7, 312.25, 334.29, 340.27, 342.23, 344.5, 348.16, 348.18, 350.22, 350.28, 352.22, 362.9, 370.11, 370.13, 374.27, 376.1, 376.2, 376.26, 376.30, 378.4, 380.6, 396.22, 404.7, 416.4, 432.6, 444.28, 450.14, 458.31, 460.19, 462.15, 462.16, 462.17, 464.1, 464.14, 464.19, 466.22, 468.13, 468.18, 470.16, 472.3, 474.2, 474.19, 476.4, 476.7, 482.14, 486.18, 492.4, 492.8, 492.9, 492.13, 492.22, 492.25, 492.27, 496.14, 502.27, 504.21, 512.7, 512.18, 514.22, 516.10, 516.23, 516.26, 520.4, 522.2, 524.11,

miles (*cont.*):
524.14, 524.24, 526.16, 538.22, 538.24, 538.27, 540.5, 542.20, 548.1; *see also* eques, tiro; **Christi miles,** soldier of Christ, saint: iii. 40.31, 298.17; **feudum militis,** knight's fee: iii. 120.10; **gregarius miles,** common knight, mercenary: ii. 214.4, 234.2, 306.8; vi. 472.3, 534.23; **magister militum,** captain of the knights, military leader: ii. 266.10, 308.29, 318.30; iii. 216.26; iv. 52.12; vi. 34.12, 122.28; **pagensis miles,** country knight: iv. 178.15; vi. 26.11; **princeps militum,** captain of the knights: vi. 526.3; **stipendiarius miles,** stipendiary knight: v. 292.20; vi. 24.22, 28.7, 448.14; **miles templi,** Knight Templar: vi. 496.16

miliarium, mile: ii. 148.19, 210.26, 212.17, 230.33, 338.20, 338.30; iii. 44.3; iv. 58.9, 62.19, 66.17; v. 112.28, 156.6, 160.10, 160.16, 162.11, 162.16, 344.33; vi. 48.22, 112.11, 150.20, 440.11, 504.26

militaris (sb.), knight: iv. 188.36

militaris (adj.), knightly, martial: ii. 28.25, 82.2, 84.26, 140.29, 154.10, 154.16, 174.28, 212.27, 258.34, 316.13; iii. 102.2, 110.9, 118.2, 134.18, 136.6, 180.1, 180.27, 254.4; iv. 24.7, 28.19, 38.9, 46.26, 86.3, 110.14, 148.29, 150.33, 154.13, 178.13, 222.22, 232.23, 268.8, 278.15, 278.22; v. 40.15, 62.16, 66.25, 68.13, 134.2, 150.27, 152.31, 174.30, 180.13, 240.14, 242.14; vi. 22.26, 24.26, 76.7, 80.1, 84.14, 158.2, 158.4, 158.21, 188.20, 190.12, 204.24, 230.5, 246.26, 288.14, 350.18, 358.15, 366.21, 370.7, 472.9, 514.27; **arma militaria,** arms of knighthood: ii. 126.7; iii. 112.1, 242.19; v. 360.24; vi. 108.10, 134.1, 190.26, 328.34; **cingulum militare,** belt of knighthood: v. 130.32; *see also* militia; **militaris famulatus, militaris, seruitus,** knight service, military service: ii. 220.30; iii. 120.23; iv. 88.15, 200.8; v. 316.25; vi. 32.11

militia, army, band of knights, service in war, knighthood (*1*) (in a military sense): ii. 24.27, 40.18, 76.9, 84.28, 120.20, 202.19, 214.25, 268.18, 268.26, 298.8, 306.28; iii. 12.11, 126.33, 132.27, 178.28, 198.28, 216.7, 216.28, 218.15, 242.28, 244.1, 246.20, 254.18, 254.21; iv. 12.15, 36.10, 114.14, 136.13, 138.10, 142.21, 144.25, 160.36, 178.14, 212.10, 216.17, 280.16, 290.33, 302.14, 302.26, 336.25, 338.30; v. 6.8, 14.27, 30.2, 52.4, 54.9, 62.34, 118.16, 132.36, 144.12, 150.25, 150.29, 174.30, 188.12, 200.27, 214.5, 216.10, 238.20, 254.3, 258.13, 282.30, 322.20, 324.14, 324.19, 326.2, 336.8, 342.27, 354.10, 360.19, 364.20, 368.6, 374.34; vi. 42.15, 154.29, 214.31, 220.14, 230.4, 230.25, 232.24, 234.19, 294.16, 334.11, 350.7, 364.17, 460.28, 472.8; (*2*) (in a spiritual sense): i. 172.13; ii. 10.21, 12.21, 40.28, 100.24, 150.20, 254.21; iii. 44.5, 62.31, 116.18, 262.15, 316.36; v. 284.24; vi. 170.13; **arma militiæ, armatura militiæ, cingulum militiæ,** arms, belt, of knighthood: iii. 114.5, 192.15, 324.9; iv. 120.13, 136.10, 274.22; v. 346.28; vi. 42.21; *see also* militaria arma; **princeps militiæ,** commander of the army, commander of the knights: ii. 58.18;

iv. 12.15, 138.19, 210.8, 276.24; v. 38.34, 56.8, 94.24, 170.3, 214.11, 222.15, 242.22, 258.10, 354.7, 372.10; vi. 158.26, 218.14, 236.27; *see also* magister militum

milito, to fight, perform military service, (*1*) (in a military sense): ii. 28.17, 68.25, 82.30, 188.9, 258.34; iii. 100.7, 110.8, 128.2, 252.29, 254.22, 258.38; iv. 28.9, 302.2; v. 54.13, 54.15, 62.22, 148.4, 160.23, 180.34, 182.22, 186.10, 214.4, 230.21, 302.29; vi. 224.9, 294.13, 342.24, 454.10; (*2*) (in a spiritual sense): i. 170.6; ii. 76.19, 84.23, 102.4, 132.9, 158.5, 344.1; iii. 8.4, 106.8, 168.5, 216.29, 226.5, 240.20, 268.18, 330.26, 346.9; iv. 20.18, 156.11, 306.21, 320.6, 324.7, 324.12, 328.4, 332.24; v. 210.26, 320.12; vi. 44.8, 146.17, 150.17, 170.11, 310.8, 314.24, 320.13, 388.24, 430.28, 486.16, 552.21

mimus, player, jester: iii. 198.30, 216.8, 318.18; *see also* ioculator

minax, threatening, menacing: iii. 118.6, 312.27; vi. 522.26

minister, servant, officer: ii. 72.5, 156.16, 316.1; iii. 26.18, 26.22, 28.8, 274.27, 276.1, 278.4, 328.7, 348.13; iv. 96.14, 98.1, 100.23, 102.35, 202.22, 350.19; vi. 90.10, 100.7, 254.25, 340.3, 450.14; **minister æcclesiæ, minister Dei,** priest, bishop, deacon, monk: i. 159.2; ii. 22.35, 114.27, 238.11; iii. 124.5, 182.6, 194.31, 346.18; iv. 42.26, 80.17, 90.13, 100.5, 174.15, 320.20; vi. 142.15, 260.33, 296.32, 322.5, 336.13, 470.30

ministerium, office, service, function: i. 166.18, 188.4; ii. 132.23, 348.1; iii. 6.29, 20.23, 28.22, 32.6, 68.4, 224.26, 264.26, 328.1; iv. 318.35, 320.4; v. 262.20, 266.19; vi. 42.7, 50.1, 238.32, 260.33, 308.14, 552.10, 556.2; *see also* seruitium, seruitus

mirabiliter, wonderfully, marvellously: ii. 54.3, 246.13; iii. 36.26, 46.32, 54.22, 62.9, 198.3; v. 120.12, 126.16, 338.36, 342.8, 356.2, 358.3

miraculum, miracle: i. 137.28, 150.12, 168.1, 170.27, 171.2, 173.1, 190.3; ii. 4.26, 16.2, 158.33, 166.16, 166.31, 244.2, 336.14, 336.21, 338.6, 338.14, 346.23, 348.8, 350.3; iii. 8.12, 8.19, 8.24, 38.12, 40.3, 42.27, 60.30, 62.27, 64.38, 214.6, 226.2, 276.30, 290.24, 294.12, 324.11, 336.3, 346.12, 354.3, 354.35, 356.22, 358.12, 358.24; iv. 54.17, 68.9, 68.21, 128.11, 166.2, 192.3, 264.24, 314.10, 334.17; v. 4.27; vi. 170.28, 254.1, 426.17; *see also* prodigium, signum

miserabiliter, pitiably, lamentably: ii. 154.31, 174.20, 228.36, 330.12; iii. 4.8, 96.20, 106.30, 242.30, 292.25; iv. 10.2, 74.28, 116.8, 198.18, 226.29, 298.9; v. 26.26, 258.36, 284.31, 370.29; vi. 18.3, 34.9, 56.5, 58.2, 60.32, 96.7, 112.31, 190.18, 212.5, 234.2, 262.12, 284.20, 354.15, 390.16, 450.25, 458.2, 546.22

misericorditer, compassionately, mercifully: iii. 262.24, 348.9; v. 82.3, 178.17; vi. 520.13

missa, Mass (ecclesiastical): i. 155.31, 161.21, 184.13, 194.7; ii. 48.31, 62.8, 72.32, 72.34, 108.23, 114.18, 150.9, 160.10, 160.17, 160.20, 162.11, 164.13, 172.17, 286.23, 334.16; iii. 14.9, 126.7, 130.5, 144.10, 194.28, 198.16, 240.16, 248.9, 258.2, 290.26, 294.24, 326.1, 326.34, 326.35; iv. 104.34, 166.6, 166.9, 198.14,

missa (*cont.*):
246.31, 248.4, 262.22, 272.9, 276.1, 310.19, 326.3; v. 40.1, 196.23, 266.2; vi. 234.7, 252.23, 254.18, 298.24, 316.3, 318.14, 326.9, 336.12, 336.26, 370.12, 388.21, 486.17, 486.20, 544.18; **missa matutinalis,** the morrow Mass: ii. 114.26; v. 264.35
missalis, missal: ii. 48.31; iii. 184.18
missilis, javelin, missile, lance, spear, dart: ii. 30.2, 86.29, 174.3; iii. 148.31; iv. 140.26, 140.30, 174.9, 200.15, 208.29, 270.1; v. 82.17, 104.23, 122.26, 218.7, 224.4, 230.8, 242.8, 258.22, 330.31, 344.8; vi. 28.29, 48.27, 232.30, 328.20; *see also* hasta, iaculum, lancea, pilum, spiculum, telum
mistica (sb. pl.), see mystica
misticus (adj.), symbolic, mystical: ii. 280.14, 292.33; iv. 320.9; vi. 326.10
mittologia, mythology: iv. 44.2
moderni (sb. pl.), men of today: ii. 188.21; iii. 212.7, 284.4; iv. 186.28, 270.22, 312.4; vi. 302.11, 358.23
modernus (adj.), new, of the present day: i. 130.28, 144.3; ii. 186.14, 304.4; iii. 124.10; iv. 14.25, 304.29, 332.3, 332.33; vi. 106.13, 392.2
mœchia, mechia, adultery: iii. 72.17; iv. 260.28; v. 202.7, 286.8
mœnia, menia (pl.), (*1*) city walls, ramparts: ii. 180.34, 194.20, 212.20, 214.5, 228.3; iii. 44.32; iv. 66.17; v. 50.27, 136.5, 136.33, 138.2, 138.12, 162.32, 164.31, 216.33, 346.7; vi. 386.3, 386.8, 528.26; *see also* murus; (*2*) dwellings: iii. 36.16
mola, mill-stone: iii. 184.10, 184.11, 186.11
molendinus, mill: ii. 32.8, 32.12, 32.15, 32.17, 32.33, 34.20, 36.6, 36.14, 152.34, 158.23; iii. 132.15, 140.2, 152.23, 152.27, 152.29, 156.16 (bis), 156.21, 162.17, 164.22, 174.27, 200.26, 230.20, 248.2, 248.4, 250.35, 314.18; iv. 136.22, 244.22; v. 266.25; **ferrum molendini,** mill-shaft: iv. 244.25
moles, massive structure, great quantity: ii. 338.28; v. 336.5, 344.11; vi. 434.24
molimen, effort, undertaking: ii. 328.15; iii. 164.7; iv. 92.19; vi. 26.12, 102.9, 176.17, 334.4
molliter, compliantly: iv. 146.13
moltura, multure, payment for grinding: iii. 152.26, 152.27
monacha, nun: ii. 12.30; iii. 10.9, 16.28, 32.11, 32.23; iv. 272.20; vi. 36.17; *see also* sanctimonialis
monachatus, monastic state or life: ii. 40.35, 84.9, 92.8, 102.17, 126.19, 150.6, 154.22, 164.26, 238.31, 248.3, 354.8; iii. 12.16, 12.28, 122.5, 164.11, 164.14, 190.9, 192.28, 222.10, 228.19, 228.32, 230.34, 238.1, 246.21, 252.22, 254.19, 328.16, 336.8, 346.9, 350.3; iv. 68.30, 142.22, 212.11, 254.27, 302.26, 304.30, 308.16, 336.10; v. 188.25, 278.8, 314.22; vi. 88.24, 138.10, 222.18, 328.6, 376.16, 486.15, 538.4, 554.10
monachicus, monastic: ii. 46.9, 292.17; iii. 104.14, 168.2; iv. 156.20, 164.20; vi. 138.12; *see also* monachilis, monasterialis, monasticus
monachilis, monastic: i. 130.33; ii. 12.22, 14.21, 18.22, 20.30, 40.7, 48.5, 76.18, 84.21, 84.33,

86.21, 100.20, 104.8, 118.29, 126.23, 132.9, 144.29, 148.35, 154.15, 240.5, 242.17, 244.38, 278.21, 346.3, 346.31, 346.36, 348.26; iii. 8.5, 12.21, 88.25, 104.16, 116.19, 142.26, 144.38, 148.6, 148.16, 162.21, 166.34, 174.22, 188.22, 196.25, 216.29, 226.32, 228.11, 240.21, 268.17, 274.7, 346.14, 358.8; iv. 70.6, 98.30, 142.23, 156.10, 168.31, 254.16, 302.4, 310.2, 314.18, 332.2, 334.11; v. 210.24, 262.11; vi. 140.30, 150.8, 152.1, 326.34, 462.3, 464.26; *see also* monachicus, monasterialis, monasticus

monachus, monk: *passim; see also* cenobita

monadicon, verse: i. 156.16; ii. 348.35

monarchia, dominion, rule: ii. 240.17, 340.22; iii. 282.15; v. 298.22

monasterialis, monastic: ii. 50.35, 210.8; *see also* monachicus, monachilis, monasticus

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nigredo, blackness, dark colour: ii. 310.23; iii. 196.30; iv. 242.1, 310.30, 312.2, 334.25; v. 192.7

nobilis (sb.), a magnate, person of standing: i. 158.4, 160.8; ii. 20.20, 182.3, 194.14; iv. 50.23, 112.3, 188.2; v. 16.7, 240.34; vi. 64.7, 70.4, 160.32, 304.14, 304.24, 352.19, 522.8; *see also* magnates, optimates

nobilis (adj.), high-born, noble; excellent, renowned: i. 152.31, 157.4, 165.12; ii. 16.37, 30.7, 60.38, 90.3, 102.3, 108.35, 126.10, 132.3, 156.11, 194.20, 196.34, 202.3, 206.7, 214.15, 216.2, 216.6, 240.32, 242.10, 248.23, 264.8, 266.7, 268.7, 274.31, 294.23, 300.27, 312.20, 314.11, 322.8, 342.33; iii. 6.30, 16.18, 18.25, 60.3, 60.27, 78.13, 86.12, 92.32, 96.14, 102.13, 106.15, 112.17, 120.10, 128.5, 136.1, 138.6, 142.23, 158.26, 178.29, 180.12, 180.25, 200.5, 206.3, 216.10, 216.21, 232.14, 252.29, 256.31, 264.10, 264.23, 270.1, 296.18, 330.29, 332.31; iv. 14.15, 18.33, 28.14, 36.10, 46.8, 48.33, 68.28, 94.6, 96.18, 126.29, 130.19, 140.17, 142.20, 150.8, 200.33, 204.5, 218.32, 240.10, 250.32, 256.10, 260.17, 272.13, 280.24, 282.32, 284.12, 290.3, 294.16, 326.4, 330.13; v. 6.20, 10.6, 14.30, 30.20, 46.30,

68.6, 102.13, 122.15, 134.1, 134.9, 148.32, 158.15, 200.9, 204.18, 206.4, 216.32, 220.4, 228.25, 244.18, 244.26, 246.32, 280.12, 318.6, 318.12, 332.6, 346.33, 350.30, 354.5, 376.17, 376.29; vi. 84.8, 96.25, 100.5, 116.34, 164.10, 182.23, 240.14, 250.13, 282.2, 286.32, 294.28, 302.24, 310.9, 312.12, 316.13, 322.9, 340.17, 372.19, 432.7, 432.15, 440.34, 448.25, 466.5, 508.22, 516.26, 546.4; *see also* generosus

nobilitas, (*1*) high birth, nobility, excellence: ii. 12.16, 22.8, 64.28, 76.27, 82.32, 96.16, 122.6, 124.24, 150.23, 178.16, 196.18, 200.14, 206.12, 224.1, 314.29, 342.19, 350.3; iii. 62.10, 62.26, 150.25, 230.7, 264.19, 264.24; iv. 46.29, 158.32, 160.19, 166.10, 166.19, 230.9, 232.11, 260.10, 278.22; v. 46.23, 118.26, 136.15, 172.13, 216.13, 274.23, 378.21; vi. 18.5, 38.21, 148.13, 160.19, 232.25, 302.28, 320.9, 370.25, 428.26, 500.26; *see also* generositas; (*2*) the nobility: ii. 198.2, 262.11; iii. 48.7; v. 76.21, 82.3, 344.5; vi. 296.16, 300.34, 422.9

nobiliter, excellently, famously, nobly: i. 134.7, 176.7, 196.15; ii. 22.10, 40.15, 68.25, 76.4, 86.9, 146.14, 174.31, 244.19, 268.18, 292.17, 292.28, 296.14; iii. 180.23, 260.20; iv. 14.3, 120.9; v. 128.7, 154.30, 186.8, 274.2, 280.17, 292.2, 354.14; vi. 112.31, 204.27

nobilito, to make famous, ennoble: ii. 102.11; iii. 64.24, 118.13; vi. 16.25

noricus, Norse, Norwegian: vi. 544.5

nostras (adj.), of our country, native: iii. 124.4; vi. 420.6, 498.25

nostrates (sb. pl.), our people, our men: ii. 324.11, 360.28; iv. 190.17; v. 48.8, 56.8, 68.29, 102.23, 118.21, 158.18, 272.35, 328.1, 334.19, 374.1, 374.21

notamen, sign: i. 130.25; v. 230.22

notarius, scribe, clerk: iv. 80.19; v. 6.23

nothus, (*1*) bastard: i. 158.1; ii. 2.26, 312.6; iii. 148.22, 254.9, 336.24; iv. 82.34, 84.17, 110.2, 212.6, 276.15; v. 26.8, 38.26, 158.5; vi. 40.9, 166.6, 166.29, 210.9, 442.24; (*2*) the south wind, wind: ii. 142.25, 168.26

nouerca, stepmother: iv. 32.4, 32.8, 158.19, 168.14; v. 156.14; vi. 50.27, 52.13, 52.16, 52.23, 54.3, 158.15

nouercalis, belonging to a stepmother: iv. 74.23

nouicius, nouitius (sb.), novice, convert: ii. 74.9; iii. 122.24, 228.11; *see also* neophitus

nouicius (adj.), newly-established: iv. 116.25

nouitas, novelty, newness, innovation: i. 171.2; ii. 198.8, 336.19; iii. 280.8, 294.12, 356.22; iv. 186.19, 314.12, 320.33, 326.5; v. 262.8; vi. 126.15

nouiter, newly, recently: ii. 248.8; iv. 80.14, 174.14

nudius tercius, three years before: iv. 220.3; v. 122.25; vi. 346.2

nummus, coin, penny: ii. 34.4; iii. 130.1, 186.12, 188.18, 210.14, 230.23, 346.31; iv. 246.24, 328.7; v. 292.17, 304.28, 334.9

nuncium, message, news: i. 165.5; ii. 62.13, 218.34; iii. 242.31; iv. 54.13, 66.29, 270.26; v. 98.10; vi. 214.13; *see also* rumor

nuncius, nuntius, envoy, messenger: ii. 218.25, 224.22, 226.24,

nuncius, nuntius (*cont.*): 256.26, 316.23; iii. 30.17, 42.8, 104.22, 108.3, 224.26, 288.21, 296.31, 312.32, 332.23; iv. 30.6, 30.16, 32.3, 66.18, 126.24, 128.25; v. 52.14, 88.19, 144.37, 160.32, 176.25, 256.16, 296.16, 304.21, 328.21, 334.1, 342.1, 372.4; vi. 50.27, 134.6, 142.23, 180.2, 196.1, 198.23, 232.31, 234.29, 274.8, 338.24, 342.28, 380.24, 462.24, 516.13, 534.2; *see also* legatus, ueredarius

nuncupo, to name, call by name: ii. 32.10, 150.36, 152.34, 182.33, 218.5, 312.6; iii. 16.26, 36.3, 38.4, 172.35, 254.4, 288.26, 356.29; iv. 10.15, 228.28, 326.25; v. 108.26, 120.8, 154.18, 246.31, 304.25, 356.4; vi. 28.25, 146.22, 150.6, 186.3, 236.4, 280.2, 280.18, 332.33, 402.6, 470.6, 490.22

nundinæ (pl.), a fair: ii. 166.28; iii. 140.4, 252.9; v. 266.24

nuptiæ (pl.), marriage, wedding-feast: ii. 14.11, 22.24, 288.26, 298.30; iii. 116.5, 182.19; v. 306.23, 378.16, 378.26; vi. 50.17, 192.9, 390.20, 480.5

nurus, daughter-in-law: iii. 202.14; vi. 330.6

nutricius, tutor, guardian, foster-father: ii. 6.11; iii. 72.31; iv. 82.8; v. 220.5; vi. 192.5, 332.21

nutrix, nurse: ii. 60.19, 198.29; iv. 276.8; vi. 132.23, 262.13

obolus, half-penny: ii. 266.22

obsequiæ, funeral rites, obsequies: ii. 72.18, 126.31

obses, hostage: i. 157.24; ii. 180.24, 182.8, 196.22, 212.13, 212.23, 218.15, 218.19; iii. 82.15; iv. 294.20; v. 88.5, 88.30, 376.12; vi. 126.20, 126.26, 206.7, 206.10, 210.24, 210.25, 210.26, 228.36, 266.29, 376.22

occipitium, the back of the head: iv. 188.29

occlamo, to cry out, shout: v. 60.11, 138.4, 180.1

oceanus, the ocean, the great sea: ii. 8.4, 188.17, 256.31; v. 24.26, 30.8, 220.1, 222.5, 270.23; vi. 252.7, 280.21, 382.26, 382.30

ocior, to enjoy leisure: vi. 112.15

ociositas, idleness, sloth: ii. 50.30, 86.13; iii. 4.13

ociosus (sb.), a slothful man: ii. 50.33; iii. 4.5

ociosus (adj.), slothful, idle, at ease: iii. 4.6, 318.26; iv. 216.35, 318.6, 320.8; v. 138.21, 150.25

ocium, (*1*) leisure, quiet: ii. 40.12, 50.10, 76.9, 218.28, 252.26; iii. 20.8; v. 74.3; vi. 10.4; (*2*) sloth, idleness: i. 130.14, 143.31; ii. 50.28, 104.25, 106.28; iii. 4.2, 4.23, 4.24, 4.25, 150.12, 168.30, 212.25; iv. 320.14; vi. 24.17, 398.25

ocius, very quickly: ii. 222.16, 328.32; iii. 172.18, 356.16; v. 368.2; vi. 234.4, 492.7, 516.14

octogenarius (sb.), octogenarian: iii. 60.16

octogenarius (adj.), of eighty years: iii. 282.29

officialis, an official, subordinate: iv. 170.28; v. 22.4, 26.3; vi. 112.13, 178.18, 330.31, 420.16, 430.16; **liber officialis,** book of offices: ii. 292.2

officina, domestic building of a monastery: ii. 148.27, 346.12; iii. 148.6; iv. 308.32; v. 320.15; vi. 36.16, 152.3, 440.2, 462.3

officiosus, obliging, complaisant: ii. 210.10; iii. 294.26

officium, (*1*) duty, office, service: ii. 46.30, 54.8, 112.10, 128.25, 158.23, 172.23, 192.11, 210.8, 258.32, 336.23, 346.36, 348.6, 354.27; iii. 20.31, 90.38, 94.28,

144.21, 172.1, 198.20, 222.28, 228.6, 242.7, 264.27, 278.30, 294.36, 308.31, 316.11, 336.10, 344.37, 348.18; iv. 14.12, 46.9, 154.5, 170.1, 194.15, 302.23, 320.24, 324.19, 330.8; v. 128.25, 238.3, 374.31; vi. 56.29, 64.12, 112.3, 144.4, 276.6 (bis), 276.26, 286.15, 296.9, 310.26, 318.17, 340.12, 374.27, 392.24, 402.15; (*2*) divine service, rite: ii. 52.15, 114.22, 136.27, 184.18, 290.34, 292.1; iii. 30.30; iv. 104.15, 298.2, 336.27; v. 12.20, 22.5, 22.21, 264.27, 308.21; vi. 60.25, 204.19, 326.9, 336.30

olimpias, a period of four years: iv. 58.35

oliua, olive-tree: iv. 318.26; v. 160.4; vi. 110.8

oliuetum, olive-grove: iii. 222.21

olosericus, silken: iii. 322.10; vi. 68.24

omasus, (?) a pledge, hostage: vi. 230.1

omnigenus, of all kinds: v. 336.9

opera, service, labour, exertion: ii. 162.34, 292.18; iii. 66.32; iv. 318.6

opilio, shepherd: iii. 228.17

oppidanus, castellan, member of a garrison: ii. 80.12, 176.22, 204.26, 258.4, 306.8, 306.28, 306.33; iii. 102.14, 180.27, 310.4; iv. 16.19, 50.33, 74.7, 134.1, 160.21, 194.5, 232.22, 234.13, 288.26, 300.8; v. 26.19, 26.25, 104.7, 104.22, 218.2, 240.14, 244.18, 244.24, 258.28, 288.14; vi. 16.17, 22.16, 22.26, 28.3, 28.8, 28.11, 84.12, 98.15, 164.10, 182.15, 188.21, 198.4, 206.3, 214.24, 220.29, 228.6, 232.21, 332.25, 344.6, 356.22, 370.11, 374.26, 376.20, 408.13, 448.25, 466.23, 468.13, 470.11, 470.19, 482.25, 492.9, 512.25, 516.3, 520.23, 524.18, 526.4, 526.14, 526.28, 548.29; *see also* castellanus, castrensis, municeps, munio

oppido, completely, exceedingly: ii. 64.22, 234.26; iii. 84.13, 112.24; iv. 102.13; vi. 192.20, 312.27

oppidum, opidum, castle, fortress, stronghold, town: i. 134.24, 159.18, 160.12; ii. 6.13, 22.21, 46.36, 56.13, 58.14, 94.8, 100.10, 118.19, 124.13, 130.14, 166.1, 182.2, 204.13, 204.21, 208.31, 304.15, 308.22, 316.22, 350.28, 352.1, 356.27, 358.33; iii. 254.26, 268.31, 302.26, 308.23, 310.15, 312.35, 326.7; iv. 36.24, 48.2, 108.6, 114.29, 126.21, 126.26, 126.28, 128.9, 128.25, 128.30, 132.32, 132.36, 138.22, 160.24, 168.17, 186.5, 192.26, 204.29, 206.35, 208.14, 208.25, 208.33, 214.18, 220.7, 228.27, 234.10, 250.13, 256.23, 260.22, 262.16, 288.26, 292.10; v. 6.4, 38.1, 96.27, 98.21, 102.30, 146.10, 186.1, 186.14, 186.21, 208.33, 212.25, 224.22, 232.33, 234.13, 242.20, 244.10, 248.4, 248.31, 258.8, 274.8, 346.1, 354.11; vi. 24.20, 26.17, 26.26, 48.9, 56.11, 68.22, 70.23, 74.17, 76.9, 76.29, 84.8, 92.1, 102.5, 114.33, 136.13, 156.13, 182.2, 182.10, 182.12, 182.23, 198.7, 208.5, 212.14, 218.5, 220.5, 222.30, 240.35, 242.16, 248.6, 280.33, 286.18, 294.19, 342.22, 346.8, 370.20, 392.8, 398.8, 398.23, 408.27, 434.4, 438.8, 438.27, 446.1, 446.7, 446.12, 454.21, 464.21, 466.21, 470.2, 482.11, 482.18, 484.9, 484.21, 492.4, 502.8, 510.21, 516.2, 516.31, 516.32, 518.11, 518.20, 520.12, 524.17,

oppidum, opidum (*cont.*): 526.4, 532.12, 532.17, 534.5, 534.12, 534.25, 550.6; *see also* arx, castellum, castrum, dangio, munitio, turris

optimates (pl.), magnates, chief barons, leading men: ii. 16.31, 26.19, 56.8, 106.1, 120.7, 130.17, 136.1, 140.13, 198.10, 200.3, 216.24, 248.23, 262.25, 264.19, 266.17, 278.22, 306.16, 310.7, 356.13; iii. 10.27, 42.16, 96.25, 110.31, 112.23, 128.27, 132.6, 148.23, 160.33, 232.11, 234.10, 306.18, 314.3, 320.6, 324.6; iv. 120.22, 132.4, 148.22, 164.27, 174.13, 178.23, 182.3, 204.27, 206.17, 220.16, 232.16, 236.14, 270.20, 274.23, 294.29, 302.1; v. 24.11, 36.2, 42.25, 66.22, 64.33, 72.7, 76.22, 78.4, 88.8, 90.10, 122.13, 134.17, 184.33, 186.11, 196.24, 230.16, 240.1, 244.7, 260.4, 288.14, 292.3, 296.4, 298.4, 308.27, 310.16, 316.30, 338.19, 364.33, 372.26, 374.13, 376.7, 376.28; vi. 26.11, 56.19, 64.3, 66.24, 80.18, 92.29, 122.13, 134.11, 144.29, 154.27, 160.18, 164.10, 168.4, 174.15, 174.20, 182.9, 222.32, 224.5, 228.30, 234.7, 284.35, 290.12, 300.21, 302.3, 302.17, 348.22, 368.3, 368.18, 394.8, 394.20, 410.12, 412.14, 430.18, 446.30, 456.25, 472.7, 484.23, 488.7, 494.16, 528.12, 530.3, 530.23, 532.1, 536.13, 544.25, 550.22; *see also* magnates, magnati, maiores, nobilis

opus, (*1*) work, task, undertaking, deed: i. 132.5, 139.9, 142.36, 144.9, 144.10, 153.7, 154.10, 170.31, 175.24, 182.23, 191.6, 196.11; ii. 2.1, 2.15, 2.23, 4.3, 10.17, 10.19, 14.4, 16.25, 18.7, 20.29, 22.14, 42.15, 48.6, 48.11, 48.25, 48.37, 50.28, 52.11, 52.37, 78.15, 86.11, 88.11, 98.18, 106.27, 128.20, 142.5, 148.7, 148.21, 150.12, 150.22, 154.6, 154.7, 200.12, 214.8, 230.18, 238.13, 272.35, 274.2, 294.1, 302.18, 312.3, 326.24, 344.17, 348.18; iii. 38.13, 50.1, 82.1, 142.16, 142.25, 152.34, 164.4, 194.29, 198.29, 212.18, 224.18, 240.28, 246.10, 256.8, 256.19, 266.10, 266.14, 280.3, 280.8, 288.10, 292.16, 298.38, 332.30, 332.36, 334.27, 358.15; iv. 68.5, 72.27, 72.28, 72.35, 108.4, 138.6, 152.23, 158.15, 174.30, 178.10, 180.4, 188.3, 188.19, 202.35, 278.5, 308.17, 308.21, 310.22, 320.4, 324.8; v. 4.7, 6.19, 16.12, 28.16, 28.17, 46.24, 54.28, 164.20, 170.27, 174.17, 188.14, 232.18, 258.12, 274.9, 288.4, 300.9, 318.19, 322.18, 358.18; vi. 14.21, 28.10, 112.3, 138.11, 138.15, 160.21, 200.30, 202.16, 280.27, 310.11, 342.3, 354.6, 354.27, 418.2, 436.27, 500.13, 504.20; (*2*) workmanship: ii. 88.2, 88.3, 348.4; iii. 176.35; iv. 170.13; v. 320.23; (*3*) military work, siege-engine: iv. 158.17, 282.11, 282.13, 290.18, 290.19, 296.13; v. 288.9; vi. 282.6; (*4*) building, structure: iv. 110.20, 118.21; vi. 138.17, 138.20, 144.27, 148.7, 152.20, 468.5; (*5*) book: i. 171.8, 187.12; **opus Dei, opus domini, diuinum opus**, divine worship, the Mass: ii. 66.9; iii. 118.8, 146.8, 168.13; iv. 272.17; vi. 210.4; **opus est**, it is necessary: iii. 138.3; iv. 178.27; v. 124.1, 366.20, 368.35; vi. 362.5

opusculum, a modest work, minor work: i. 130.29, 150.20, 178.21, 179.31, 198.27; ii. 166.36, 188.15, 270.25, 322.32, 338.10; iii. 6.6,

6.26, 68.7, 96.7, 210.33, 218.2, 264.6, 292.2, 302.15; iv. 56.2, 190.35; v. 6.18, 6.24; vi. 382.2

oraculum, oracular statement, revelation from heaven: i. 134.12, 156.18; ii. 298.29, 334.28; iii. 224.24, 330.1; vi. 102.28

oratio, (*1*) prayer: i. 166.19, 180.10, 180.13, 180.15, 190.27; ii. 16.28, 18.10, 20.21, 48.25, 70.23, 82.12, 86.13, 100.23, 110.3, 150.9, 166.25, 216.8, 258.37, 280.17, 320.23, 322.12, 330.9, 332.6, 336.27; iii. 14.29, 16.14, 28.5, 40.18, 48.17, 144.10, 164.15, 198.15, 224.19, 232.18, 240.7, 256.8, 264.3, 266.13, 270.18, 274.20, 278.20, 292.26, 292.29, 294.4, 294.30, 308.36, 340.36; iv. 66.28, 90.14, 272.12, 302.6, 318.36, 334.24; v. 168.27, 174.17, 178.13, 178.16, 178.25, 232.19, 266.13, 342.21; vi. 62.2, 68.21, 104.17, 150.17, 170.7, 202.22, 254.28, 326.7, 336.20, 436.15, 486.24, 536.26, 554.2; *see also* precamen; (*2*) speech: iii. 196.8; iv. 336.2; vi. 26.31, 258.19, 290.14

orator, (*1*) one who prays: ii. 52.17, 256.11, 262.3; iii. 146.11, 262.5; (*2*) speaker, orator, petitioner: ii. 248.27; iii. 52.8, 52.16, 264.29; vi. 288.11

oratorium, oratory, chapel, church: ii. 150.34, 156.18, 156.27, 330.16, 336.12, 336.38, 338.32; iii. 18.6, 308.33, 328.27; iv. 264.29, 326.3, 328.10, 332.25; v. 320.14; vi. 138.17, 326.10

orbo, to deprive: ii. 190.10, 238.16; iii. 88.15; iv. 160.4, 272.24; vi. 352.17

orcistra, pulpit: vi. 70.20

ordeiceus, of barley: ii. 326.21, 326.32; v. 162.19

ordeum, barley: v. 144.35

ordinatio, (*1*) a setting in order, regulation, decree: i. 134.33; ii. 66.16, 94.28, 236.28; iv. 32.34, 80.12, 246.8; v. 234.5; vi. 368.18; (*2*) ordination, anointing, blessing as abbot: ii. 112.5, 200.7, 254.7; vi. 142.5, 268.8, 276.4, 422.18, 426.29

ordo, (*1*) sequence, methodical arrangement, order: i. 150.19, 198.32; ii. 24.36, 54.6, 88.12, 110.11, 330.29, 332.12, 334.11, 340.26, 358.22; iii. 50.1; iv. 26.18, 120.20, 192.9, 248.31, 256.18, 308.25, 334.23; v. 72.16, 162.13, 190.14, 228.1, 262.18, 304.22; vi. 388.5, 464.33; (*2*) rank, class, station, condition: i. 134.23, 135.17, 169.6, 199.20; ii. 6.3, 84.26, 140.21, 320.27, 330.35, 336.16; iii. 22.10, 50.4, 50.27, 62.4, 64.30, 66.4, 76.5, 78.14, 80.3, 346.30, 348.20; iv. 154.2, 178.9, 320.24, 330.3, 332.12, 334.24; v. 12.7, 14.15, 18.21, 226.8, 256.14, 266.9, 266.13, 284.17, 286.14, 334.8; vi. 56.4, 140.17, 142.14, 306.24, 322.17, 370.26, 422.14, 440.13, 450.3, 476.35; (*3*) clerical or monastic order, rule: ii. 20.31, 44.15, 54.7, 76.19, 86.15, 86.21, 86.25, 96.2, 98.8, 102.19, 104.9, 106.38, 114.14, 128.35, 132.14, 132.23, 146.29, 148.6, 160.2, 192.3, 240.6, 242.19, 244.16, 248.6, 250.7, 270.9, 294.8, 346.3; iii. 10.8, 104.16, 106.8, 120.6, 144.1, 206.5, 228.11, 228.33, 242.8, 280.17, 356.23; iv. 54.18, 72.3, 118.3, 142.23, 156.20, 164.18, 256.9, 318.22, 320.31; v. 294.20, 320.16; vi. 82.21, 148.1, 152.2, 424.13, 452.33; (*4*) rank, troop of soldiers: ii. 172.27, 266.28; v. 52.36, 132.19, 152.31, 346.22; (*5*) (pl.) holy

ordo (*cont.*):
orders: i. 151.11; ii. 286.31, 286.33, 288.11, 288.12, 290.19, 290.20; iii. 20.23, 254.20; iv. 6.14; v. 12.18
ormesta, (?) someone or something that brings to a safe haven (Schanz-Hosius, *Geschichte der Römischen Literatur*, iv (2), 487 n. 3): i. 130; iii. 52.24
ortodoxus, orthodox Christian: iii. 70.18
ortolanus, gardener: ii. 20.4; iii. 298.7; v. 212.11
ortulus, little garden: iv. 258.24; vi. 384.11
ortus, garden, orchard: i. 177.38; iii. 276.28; iv. 258.20; v. 70.28, 144.22; vi. 60.2

pacifico, pacificor, to pacify, appease, make peace: ii. 130.19, 194.15, 214.2, 240.21, 262.22, 310.20, 316.31; iii. 110.15; iv. 148.15, 148.19, 234.30, 236.22, 270.14; v. 116.25, 208.22, 252.22, 374.22; vi. 12.27, 18.20, 26.2, 142.25, 210.20, 250.26, 264.18, 276.35, 290.24, 372,4, 426.27, 446.31, 486.7, 510.21, 520.22, 534.5
paganismus, the pagan world, paganism: v. 334.18; vi. 284.22
paganus, pagana, a pagan, infidel: i. 156.33, 160.18, 189.2, 200.5; ii. 16.3, 58.9, 240.10, 240.16, 244.23, 334.1; iii. 86.26, 94.6, 304.2, 326.5; iv. 26.7, 56.5, 150.12, 218.34, 314.23, 318.9; v. 4.25, 14.27, 16.7, 34.13, 48.3, 60.9, 68.20. 74.2, 92.27, 98.11, 100.5, 114.33, 120.22, 120.32, 128.11, 138.30, 138.34, 144.32, 146.10, 146.26, 148.7, 148.36, 166.4, 170.11, 178.10, 182.7, 182.19, 270.30, 272.29, 328.18, 336.1, 336.15, 342.7, 344.30, 346.12, 346.29, 354.29, 356.33, 356.34, 374.32, 376.30, 378.9; vi. 104.30, 106.19, 108.11, 108.18, 112.34, 114.1, 114.27, 122.32, 124.1, 126.4, 126.6, 126.21, 136.16, 382.9, 394.1, 394.25, 398.20, 400.8, 400.15, 400.20, 404.15, 406.4, 408.12, 414.27, 416.2, 416.15, 418.1, 432.18, 474.13, 496.12, 498.31, 500.16, 500.21, 504.5; *see also* ethnicus, infidelis, gentilis
pagensis (sb.), countryman, peasant: ii. 306.33; iii. 276.25, 314.22, 330.3; iv. 124.19, 152.22, 178.15, 288.14, 296.8, 300.28; vi. 24.15, 60.26, 82.28, 160.6, 192.25, 250.2, 330.32, 350.19, 396.22, 470.25, 476.13, 484.18, 492.20, 512.14, 514.23, 548.13
pagensis (adj.), **pagensis eques, miles,** country knight: iii. 334.3; iv. 104.2; vi. 26.11
pagina, (*1*) page: ii. 292.25; iii. 182.13; iv. 104.21; (*2*) Testament (biblical), Holy Writ: i. 137.30; ii. 2.5, 250.28; iv. 176.11, 228.18 vi. 140.7
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palacium, palatium, palace: i.

177.35; ii. 202.29; iii. 82.23, 264.28; iv. 12.26, 16.4, 40.2, 40.3; v. 32.15, 104.1, 124.6, 124.23, 124.29, 126.5, 134.28, 140.13, 142.21, 294.24, 330.19, 370.21; vi. 130.29

palatinus, palatine; **palatinus comes, consul,** count palatine: ii. 264.16; iii. 116.1, 116.6; iv. 124.13, 330.13; v. 324.10, 346.14; vi. 42.15, 276.35, 304.12, 490.9

palea, straw, chaff: ii. 246.25; v. 42.4, 64.28, 86.9; vi. 524.19

palefridus, palfrey: iii. 200.12; vi. 240.33; *see also* caballus, cornipes, dextrarius, equus, sonipes

pallium, pallum, (*1*) archbishop's pall, pallium: ii. 200.8, 280.14; iii. 86.15; vi. 320.16, 386.13; (*2*) altar cloth, frontal: i. 192.7; ii. 60.36, 160.33, 196.30; iii. 284.29; (*3*) mantle, cloak: iv. 188.25, 258.27; v. 34.29, 84.32; vi. 438.17

panificus, baker: iv. 234.11

panigiricus, panegyric: ii. 2.29

papatus, papacy: i. 200.14; iii. 24.24; iv. 38.30, 40.1, 166.9; vi. 418.11

paranimphus, bridal attendant: vi. 50.18, 432.15

parapsis, dish, platter: iii. 224.2

parasitus, attendant, minion; guest: ii. 268.11; iii. 102.20, 144.13, 318.17; iv. 30.31, 106.32, 172.4, 238.8, 298.18; v. 288.5; vi. 56.22, 532.11

parentela, kindred: ii. 90.23, 98.20, 102.3, 128.2, 248.24, 258.17; iii. 26.12; iv. 170.33, 186.7, 236.1; v. 376.31; vi. 32.4, 118.31, 166.10, 330.17, 432.24; *see also* cognatio

parietinæ (pl.), ruined walls: iii. 332.1

parma, small round shield: iv. 140.28

parricida, murderer of a near relative: iv. 54.15; vi. 200.31

parrochia, parochia, (*1*) diocese: ii. 78.8; iii. 26.4, 34.4; vi. 270.21, 534.6; (*2*) parish: ii. 126.20, 152.26; iii. 26.21, 120.22, 176.30, 188.21, 208.12, 288.25, 334.17; iv. 236.34; v. 24.14, 284.6; vi. 86.25; *see also* diocesis

parrochianus, parochianus, parochiana (sb.), (*1*) parishioner: ii. 166.14; iii. 26.19, 26.22, 30.10, 176.34; iv. 288.21; vi. 96.24, 156.9, 244.4, 244.24, 284.26, 292.34, 460.35; (*2*) member of a diocese: iii. 24.7, 32.34, 42.35; iv. 234.30, 252.20; vi. 90.8, 228.30

parrochianus (adj.), pertaining to a parish: ii. 288.23

paruipendo, to belittle, make light of, underrate: ii. 236.3, 340.32; iii. 178.14, 326.3; iv. 38.34, 132.28, 150.14, 184.19, 298.14; v. 288.21, 308.27; vi. 58.1, 76.29, 136.1, 240.25, 408.17, 530.4, 540.21

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passagium, tolls for passage: iii. 138.30, 208.34

pastor, (*1*) spiritual shepherd, pastor: i. 170.28, 187.31, 190.25; ii. 12.15, 26.12, 96.20, 200.25, 238.14, 272.15, 278.12, 286.16, 294.14, 302.10; iii. 44.1, 52.4, 54.16, 56.3, 64.31, 68.15, 70.3, 74.18, 76.14, 78.5, 148.10, 280.17, 292.8, 296.3, 298.33; iv. 20.28, 24.2, 62.21, 64.2, 64.16, 164.10, 164.26, 174.6, 174.7, 176.33, 252.33, 322.11; v. 202.13, 262.15, 262.16, 296.11, 322.12; vi. 56.24, 74.1, 142.19, 228.14, 252.3, 274.12, 282.20, 322.21, 328.4, 386.12; (*2*) herdsman, shepherd: i. 136.28, 136.30; ii. 328.32; iii.

pastor (*cont.*):
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pastoralis, pastoral (ecclesiastical): ii. 18.1, 66.14, 144.33, 288.18; iii. 228.9; iv. 240.16, 254.18; v. 262.4, 262.18, 264.12, 312.15; vi. 336.19; **pastoralis cura,** cure of souls, pastoral cure: ii. 16.38, 102.6, 238.3, 288.23; vi. 256.6, 318.2, 320.28, 326.3
paterfamilias, head of a family: i. 143.25; ii. 336.35, 338.4; iii. 194.1
paternus, belonging to a father or forefathers, ancestral, paternal: i. 134.11, 173.21; ii. 46.35, 64.8, 80.13, 92.31, 98.6, 98.27, 106.5, 112.23, 144.1, 214.26, 284.1; iii. 114.12, 116.14, 120.9, 134.14, 136.4, 142.5, 164.6, 198.29, 250.15, 256.14, 276.25, 318.13, 324.13; iv. 50.19, 52.18, 122.3, 122.18, 150.9, 168.12, 200.5, 268.8, 274.3, 274.6, 292.22, 302.11, 316.4, 322.15, 322.25, 334.4, 338.24; v. 132.34, 156.31, 196.16, 206.11, 224.17, 228.11, 238.31, 280.23, 290.23; vi. 14.28, 18.24, 32.21, 38.7, 54.14, 54.24, 56.5, 62.17, 78.4, 92.22, 106.8, 134.7, 134.13, 162.16, 180.12, 188.31, 190.2, 196.7, 284.36, 286.30, 290.4, 302.3, 346.1, 356.7, 368.16, 370.2, 408.6, 430.23, 538.11, 552.29; *see also* hereditarius, patrius
patria, native land, homeland, country: ii. 26.10, 56.31, 60.24, 68.36, 110.2, 136.10, 172.32, 180.30, 190.8, 208.21, 248.26, 306.4, 324.3; iii. 16.22, 82.18, 136.29, 170.34, 300.13; iv. 38.13, 48.6, 56.31, 58.22, 62.24, 62.34, 64.3, 70.11, 82.10, 92.27, 100.4, 104.18, 114.9, 124.11, 128.4, 144.35, 154.6, 164.9, 180.10, 196.5, 200.10, 224.20, 334.4; v. 24.13, 94.24, 182.24, 184.6, 216.14, 222.27, 222.32, 260.15, 302.3, 310.22, 330.26, 334.20, 378.27; vi. 24.10, 36.32, 38.26, 40.11, 40.17, 46.17, 64.2, 76.13, 86.26, 108.4, 136.7, 138.36, 194.25, 202.26, 222.12, 232.2, 244.11, 280.23, 286.25, 386.12, 450.12, 450.23, 452.12, 458.2, 474.21, 482.21, 512.1, 518.17, 534.8, 534.20, 544.26, 552.34
patriarcha, patriarch (ecclesiastical): i. 149.22, 161.24; iii. 64.19, 220.12; iv. 14.23; v. 136.8, 178.2, 178.10, 178.26, 342.20, 346.20, 356.19; vi. 106.4, 108.6, 324.17, 388.7, 498.6, 498.33, 502.18
patriarchatus, patriarchate: i. 189.6; v. 356.6, 356.23
patricius, nobleman, leader, ruler: iii. 58.8, 58.14, 58.26, 72.5; v. 128.5, 240.9, 296.8; vi. 58.25, 64.8, 106.10, 238.26, 316.13, 452.27, 472.18
patrimonium, patrimony: ii. 12.14, 40.30, 66.1, 116.22, 122.9, 132.15, 282.20, 342.7; iii. 66.11, 102.7, 120.8, 132.11, 134.27, 136.8, 150.26, 164.5, 208.20, 246.17, 252.30, 258.34, 262.19, 268.8; iv. 158.31, 338.10; v. 16.7, 228.12; vi. 32.23, 294.19, 308.18, 308.21, 308.25, 330.1, 330.2, 332.29, 402.2
patrinus, godfather: vi. 460.31, 552.12; *see also* compater
patrius, ancestral, belonging to one's native land: ii. 256.6, 318.3, 358.2; iii. 80.16, 128.10, 166.24, 184.29; iv. 84.10; v. 230.6, 376.1; vi. 190.26, 196.23; *see also* hereditarius, paternus
patrocinia, persons defended, clients: vi. 36.1
patrocinium, patronage, protection: ii. 154.2, 190.22; iii. 146.17, 154.17, 184.30; iv.

214.12, 230.1; v. 170.9
patrocinor, to protect, defend: v. 296.7; vi. 270.13, 272.25, 362.12
patronus, (*1*) patron saint: i. 178.5; ii. 24.7, 86.4, 152.5, 164.23; iii. 302.16, 336.18, 342.12, 346.20; iv. 62.11; (*2*) patron, defender: ii. 338.18; iii. 88.15, 178.5, 192.14, 194.13, 194.18, 204.1; iv. 70.14, 78.20, 178.34; v. 26.67; vi. 160.27, 300.30, 358.27, 392.2, 452.32, 456.24
patruus, paternal uncle: i. 159.14; ii. 80.11, 132.17; iii. 260.20, 282.9, 308.7; iv. 84.15, 132.8, 132.14, 184.23, 184.29, 200.20, 274.8, 276.15, 306.31; v. 34.1, 34.25, 208.26; vi. 74.26, 112.24, 200.16, 358.11, 370.3, 378.13, 380.18, 398.1, 430.23
patulus, open: iii. 180.4
pauperesco, to grow poor: iv. 114.25
pauimentum, a hard floor, pavement: ii. 162.10; iii. 14.21; iv. 58.18, 60.17; vi. 382.18, 382.25
paximatius; panis paximatius, a hard loaf, biscuit: v. 104.28
peccamen, a sin: i. 181.22; ii. 24.9; iii. 302.5
pecten, a comb: iv. 14.14
peculiariter, as private property, particularly: iv. 66.3; v. 136.25
peculio, to appropriate: v. 172.17
peculium, private property: ii. 248.5; iii. 310.19; v. 202.18, 308.15
pecunia, riches, wealth, money: ii. 34.27, 38.17, 56.24, 56.25, 60.19, 60.26, 62.5, 62.16, 62.18, 106.9, 214.4, 224.31, 252.8; iii. 28.2, 28.10, 28.23, 30.30, 32.5, 34.6, 58.4, 124.8, 204.2, 232.17, 356.1; iv. 96.11, 182.17, 206.33, 206.34, 220.16, 244.22, 284.11, 288.17, 298.22, 308.18; v. 20.18, 22.18, 144.13, 150.34, 172.3, 208.8, 208.18, 234.10, 250.22, 280.5, 334.15; vi. 12.20, 18.3, 18.5, 18.11, 30.31, 102.9, 148.6, 202.22, 432.11, 468.13, 522.12
pedagogus, teacher, tutor, preceptor: i. 158.8, 173.11; iii. 48.2, 242.29, 306.27, 344.4; iv. 208.5, 304.17; vi. 162.27, 282.15, 304.13, 332.8, 356.2, 358.9, 370.30; *see also* nutricius
pedes, (*1*) one that goes on foot: ii. 70.12, 176.12, 232.30, 236.10; iii. 242.21; iv. 238.18; v. 98.8, 256.19; vi. 410.19; (*2*) foot-soldier, dismounted knight: ii. 168.30, 172.26, 172.27, 172.34, 174.2, 174.6, 306.25; v. 28.13, 32.35, 60.8, 62.17, 64.20, 72.25, 76.25, 80.9, 130.26, 132.19, 138.32, 160.22, 162.10, 178.32, 182.36, 186.26, 186.27, 196.20, 218.8, 244.16; vi. 28.30, 84.6, 84.33, 88.20, 90.2, 126.6, 204.22, 206.22, 238.6, 348.25, 350.5, 350.14, 376.8, 400.20, 410.19, 492.22, 542.11, 542.13, 542.14, 542.21
pedetemptim, pedetentim, by degrees, cautiously: i. 162.14, 165.13, 177.24; iii. 318.9; iv. 216.17; v. 40.32, 98.25, 124.6, 180.1, 256.31, 366.21; vi. 50.28, 74.13, 82.12, 198.3, 216.18, 466.25
pedissequus, follower, attendant: ii. 68.34, 176.28, 260.3, 358.17; iv. 168.2, 172.3; v. 286.9, 370.22, 376.17; vi. 78.12, 258.25, 332.8,
pedulis, slipper: iii. 230.10
penates (pl.), dwelling, home: ii. 124.2; iv. 32.31, 196.20; v. 44.4, 52.9, 56.27, 66.16, 268.24; vi. 114.26, 194.9, 290.20, 438.24, 464.10
pera, scrip: ii. 100.1; v. 156.12
perdix, partridge: vi. 10.36

perdurabilis, lasting: ii. 252.11
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peregrinatio, pilgrimage: i. 182.28; ii. 10.6, 14.20, 62.15, 68.13, 68.26, 186.12; iv. 76.26, 188.32, 218.29, 328.5; v. 6.11, 6.19, 16.25, 44.2, 48.2, 142.23, 186.3, 208.12, 272.7, 274.1, 276.17, 300.26, 304.8, 324.6, 352.17; vi. 18.19, 42.9, 104.11
peregrinor, (1) to go on pilgrimage: i. 183.8; iv. 264.13; v. 4.26, 14.16, 32.2, 208.20, 268.15, 280.13, 322.19, 322.22, 328.27, 332.26; (2) to go abroad, into exile: ii. 280.1; iii. 316.8, 316.30, 324.17; v. 210.11; vi. 170.16
peregrinus (sb.), (1) pilgrim: i. 160.22; ii. 44.27, 60.17, 68.22, 70.1, 72.15, 72.17, 72.18, 72.20, 100.1, 116.28, 156.9, 318.9; iii. 86.1, 94.9, 166.10, 220.22, 296.18, 300.1, 336.14; iv. 18.31, 56.17, 174.19, 188.30, 304.25; v. 20.15, 30.16, 40.11, 42.13, 44.10, 44.34, 46.15, 46.30, 70.33, 106.33, 142.22, 144.14, 152.15, 154.23, 172.3, 228.25, 230.17, 260.22, 268.21, 270.10, 270.16, 270.22, 290.22, 332.6, 332.19, 334.11, 336.13; vi. 100.32, 130.27, 130,34, 242.7, 258.10, 286.33, 394.1, 496.26, 508.9; (2) alien, stranger: ii. 178.32; iii. 322.21, 332.2, 332.6, 332.7; iv. 10.24, 28.12, 144.12; *see also* alienigena, alienus
peregrinus (adj.), foreign, remote: ii. 6.20, 256.7, 318.20; iii. 100.23; iv. 32.13; v. 304.18; vi. 188.6
perendino, to postpone: vi. 270.15
perfectialis, an official: vi. 248.28, 310.17; *see also* prefectus
perfidia, (1) treachery: ii. 284.4; iii. 150.2; iv. 276.19, 282.5, 302.18; v. 310.2; vi. 194.11, 294.17, 356.31, 542.25; *see also* infidelitas, proditio, traditio; (2) falsehood: iii. 72.15; v. 120.26
perfidus (sb.), traitor, infidel, faithless person: iii. 118.6, 312.5; iv. 82.14; v. 78.33, 120.30, 320.5; vi. 48.21, 82.20, 478.15
perfidus (adj.), treacherous, false: ii. 116.20, 122.25, 144.7, 256.22; iii. 110.32; iv. 12.18, 126.3, 128.30; v. 36.18, 196.18, 330.3, 336.33, 338.14
peribolus, ambulatory, precinct: vi. 312.5
periurium, perjury, treason: ii. 134.20, 144.4, 170.28, 190.10, 236.32; iii. 350.31; v. 134.26; vi. 178.10, 224.3, 344.17, 352.16, 352.26, 372.26
periurus (sb.), one who breaks his oath, a traitor to his lord: ii. 140.2, 142.12; iii. 80.8, 92.18, 312.14; iv. 84.4, 130.25; v. 88.26; vi. 78.4, 94.18, 226.2, 342.17, 542.28
periurus (adj.), perjured: i. 154.35; iv. 84.27, 94.3, 134.7; vi. 74.27, 286.20, 346.1
perlustrator, one who surveys: i. 183.19
permulgo, to make known: vi. 494.17
perniciter, quickly: v. 30.1, 30.6, 60.20
pernix, swift, hurrying: iv. 102.8; v. 114.10; vi. 306.6
peropto, to desire ardently: i. 138.3; ii. 184.24, 206.21, 258.6, 314.1, 358.3; iii. 80.20, 114.3,

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perpetualiter, permanently, eternally: ii. 164.4, 318.1; v. 266.10

perplura (pl.), many things: vi. 8.31, 426.23

perplures (pl.), very many: v. 26.24

persona, (*1*) a person, personage: i. 194.8; ii. 90.35, 94.28, 140.21, 192.23, 238.29, 238.30; iii. 20.27, 172.5, 180.29, 278.7, 280.15, 280.20, 286.37, 304.32, 332.31, 354.28, 356.6; iv. 72.12, 90.24, 106.25, 278.1, 306.23; v. 264.10, 286.14, 324.14; vi. 56.5, 86.8, 186.27, 188.4, 256.25, 276.2, 362.23, 422.6, 476.34; (*2*) a beneficed priest: v. 10.23; **mediocris personæ,** of middling height: iii. 350.18

perspicaciter, acutely, sharpsightedly: ii. 300.21; v. 18.2, 272.31

pertempto, to try, test: v. 150.32

pertica, perch (linear measure): iii. 30.12

pertinaciter, firmly, tenaciously, persistently: ii. 2.17, 234.27; iii. 114.7, 164.20, 186.9, 330.11; iv. 8.18, 24.24, 152.5, 190.14, 216.4, 228.1; v. 114.19, 146.17, 148.29, 160.29, 186.12, 252.24, 258.23, 262.4, 276.15; vi. 24.33, 32.6, 44.18, 44.22, 164.7, 166.18, 176.20, 218.12, 270.8, 280.15, 350.13, 354.17, 472.34, 498.23, 510.18, 514.4, 522.4, 532.26

peruicaciter, stubbornly, relentlessly: v. 284.15; vi. 220.11

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phanum, temple: iii. 40.8, 40.17, 44.18

pharetra, quiver: iii. 220.21; v. 84.33, 286.34

philacteria, philacterium, reliquary: iii. 220.9, 220.27, 308.34, 328.4

philochristus, Christian: v. 170.26

philosophicus, phylosophicus, philosophical: ii. 198.30, 250.14, 258.30; iv. 118.6

philosophus, phylosophus, philosopher: i. 196.30; ii. 280.3, 294.29, 296.22; iii. 180.3; iv. 118.5, 320.17; v. 236.22; vi. 150.2; *see also* sophista

phisicus, physician: iii. 192.20; v. 8.26; *see also* archiater, medicus
phylosophor, to apply oneself to philosophy: ii. 248.31
phylosophya, philosophy, natural philosophy: i. 151.6; vi. 52.33
physica, medicine, natural science: ii. 76.5, 134.15; iii. 22.1; iv. 30.20; vi. 52.32
pictor, painter: iv. 142.38, 330.7
pictura, picture, illumination: ii. 42.3; vi. 36.26
pigaciæ, pigatiæ, pulley-shoes: iv. 186.21, 186.30, 192.1
pila, urn: iv. 60.22
pilum, javelin, dart: iv. 208.31, 210.10; v. 232.4; vi. 76.10, 472.28; *see also* missilis
pilus, hair: iii. 14.18; 326.27; vi. 66.11
pincerna, butler: ii. 132.18, 140.26, 152.2, 358.19; iv. 136.34
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pirata, pirate: ii. 232.34; iii. 302.22, 314.12; iv. 140.5, 140.7, 140.15, 142.2; v. 16.28, 312.30; vi. 440.9, 472.3
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piscator, fisherman: i. 169.10; ii. 36.9; iv. 24.5; vi. 300.6
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pisciculus, little fish: ii. 156.14
piscis, fish: i. 169.11, 175.34; ii. 328.31; iii. 36.13, 130.1, 324.19; iv. 24.33, 304.28, 308.10; v. 220.19; vi. 172.16, 302.7, 302.31, 384.24
piscosus, full of fish: iv. 224.23; v. 220.17
pisticus, pure: ii. 354.20
pistor, baker: iii. 224.5; vi. 292.20, 472.20
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plasma, creation, something created: i. 135.12; vi. 8.2, 302.5, 556.11
plasmator, creator: vi. 556.3
plasmo, to create: ii. 186.16
plausabiliter, in a pleasing way: iii. 118.4
plaustrum, wagon: ii. 148.20; vi. 438.5; *see also* biga, quadriga, reda
plebeius (sb.), a commoner, humble person: ii. 132.32, 208.13; iii. 162.33; v. 50.12, 256.9; vi. 246.31
plebeius (adj.), low-born, of the people: iv. 172.2; v. 132.24, 310.4
plebs, humble folk, the people, multitude, populace: i. 154.17, 159.35; ii. 48.17, 102.2, 136.25, 158.31, 184.14, 198.33, 228.35, 280.17, 300.12, 310.22, 318.15, 348.10; iii. 14.7, 40.10, 50.5, 52.29, 56.18, 74.12, 78.20, 92.33, 94.21, 106.3, 162.1; iv. 26.15, 56.8, 100.4, 106.1, 146.24, 172.24, 190.5, 228.6, 266.6, 282.11, 332.13, 336.29; v. 26.27, 82.3, 98.30, 206.22, 222.15, 222.18, 246.23, 284.3, 296.6, 320.7, 322.13; vi. 10.19, 60.25, 60.31, 62.32, 68.23, 86.23, 88.6, 98.19, 138.4, 178.24, 184.11, 208.20, 216.22, 262.2, 264.19, 284.31, 290.16, 302.17, 306.7, 346.5, 360.19, 408.5, 446.25, 452.42, 458.16, 478.20, 480.25, 486.12, 528.11, 530.4, 530.12, 544.13

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pleniter, fully: ii. 294.20, 352.32; iii. 96.2, 116.19, 302.22, 334.27; iv. 98.19, 318.35, 326.27; v. 254.15; vi. 326.18
plumbeus, leaden: ii. 332.32; iv. 162.22
plumbum, lead: v. 32.14
pluuialis, watery: iv. 102.16
pluuiola, a shower of rain: v. 110.23
podagra, gout: ii. 346.14
poderis, alb: vi. 292.15
poema, poem: iv. 110.23, 190.31, 228.13; v. 236.21
poeta, poet: i. 196.21; iii. 4.16, 68.14; iv. 130.18; v. 4.24; vi. 132.20; *see also* versificator
poliandrum, cemetery, tomb: ii. 46.4; iii. 46.4, 326.18
pomerium, orchard: iii. 174.4, 222.23
pompaticus, proud, headstrong: vi. 296.25
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pontifex, bishop, archbishop; Jewish high-priest: i. 134.8, 138.31, 139.2, 139.3, 155.31, 158.36, 162.33, 163.4, 166.19, 170.26, 182.18, 188.5, 189.6, 198.26, 199.17; ii. 4.18, 26.17, 48.3, 68.31, 70.5, 72.21, 134.25, 146.26, 172.21, 186.21, 188.3, 188.7, 198.28, 208.8, 210.9, 216.32, 224.30, 234.3, 236.25, 244.6, 246.7, 252.16, 254.17, 280.14, 300.4, 332.23; iii. 8.11, 10.23, 16.17, 16.23, 22.25, 24.6, 40.33, 42.27, 42.33, 48.29, 78.14, 80.3, 84.14, 132.22, 194.12, 228.26, 332.31; iv. 42.27, 58.23, 62.7, 68.23, 70.8, 100.7, 116.20, 118.13, 132.34, 156.10, 174.33, 194.18, 262.13, 264.21, 320.25; v. 10.7, 14.2, 134.12, 154.27, 164.22, 192.20, 196.26, 202.17, 209.1, 209.14, 226.17, 236.13, 246.25, 250.21, 256.27, 262.15, 356.25; vi. 8.7, 66.7, 90.7, 106.8, 144.8, 144.17, 172.25, 158.23, 162.13, 184.5, 254.5, 256.5, 270.1, 270.31, 314.20, 320.21, 338.35, 364.33, 414.24, 434.17, 438.30, 442.18, 478.12, 500.15, 510.19, 532.18, 532.21, 552.2; *see also* archiepiscopus, episcopus, prælatus, præsul
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pontificium, bishopric: iii. 158.32; **summum pontificium,** the papacy: vi. 210.13
poples, knee: v. 156.9
popularis (sb.), fellow-countryman, commoner: ii. 216.7; iv. 188.33; v. 76.31
popularis (adj.), of or belonging to the people: iii. 178.5; iv. 332.6; v. 164.22; vi. 156.8
populosus, populous, numerous: ii. 226.7; iv. 78.31, 224.25; v. 284.1, 330.15

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porisma, property acquired: iii. 146.22, 342.27

possessio, possession, property, estates: ii. 10.21, 12.32, 16.8, 22.33, 30.40, 32.3, 48.2, 84.2, 96.32, 100.22, 120.26, 126.11, 152.33, 194.15, 340.32; iii. 122.23, 128.19, 150.26, 154.11, 156.30, 184.21, 210.31, 232.19, 234.2, 256.2, 262.3, 266.11, 280.16, 304.6, 320.30, 346.26, 346.30, 350.21; iv. 50.7, 98.11, 134.12, 146.19, 158.28, 160.2, 172.28, 178.16, 226.26, 232.2, 250.10, 268.3, 278.26, 296.17, 296.30, 300.23, 302.28, 320.31; v. 58.26, 202.10, 226.1, 226.12, 278.9, 278.12, 280.22; vi. 62.18, 94.1, 108.26, 116.15, 122.14, 146.1, 174.2, 180.16, 270.12, 270.22, 272.27, 276.14, 294.20, 304.6, 332.33, 356.9, 398.24, 428.17, 492.18

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190.13; vi. 136.22, 384.27, 436.26, 438.13; **in posteris,** in the future: v. 76.13; *see also* posteritas

posteritas, future generations, descendants: i. 130.25, 165.12, 172.25; ii. 150.29, 246.16, 292.22; iii. 212.16, 232.20, 266.5, 348.8; v. 6.13, 188.18; vi. 282.7; *see also* posteri

posterus, later: iv. 312.14

potestatiuus, powerful: v. 46.8

practica, practical matter: iii. 206.7

præbenda, prebenda, prebend (ecclesiastical): iii. 246.23, 246.26, 248.13; v. 12.6; vi. 276.3, 388.23

præco, preco, a herald: ii. 198.12, 208.20; iv. 208.20; v. 90.6, 114.30, 164.17, 176.33; vi. 472.1

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præconor, to proclaim, announce as a herald: i. 136.1; iii. 184.22; iv. 192.6; v. 90.7; vi. 242.12

præcordialiter, sincerely: ii. 110.39

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præliator, preliator, soldier, warrior: iii. 134.15, 320.19; v. 72.11, 102.18; *see also* bellator, miles

prælior, prelior, to engage in battle, to fight: ii. 144.23, 170.26, 226.11, 230.13, 308.33, 316.6; iv. 20.33, 28.7, 92.5, 126.21, 210.12, 218.34, 234.4; v. 26.2, 38.3, 74.1, 122.20, 148.9, 158.30, 168.12, 168.13, 176.23, 180.16, 206.26, 212.27, 230.24, 230.28, 254.16, 270.4, 368.4; vi. 48.16, 48.25, 124.21, 208.4, 238.1, 286.17, 344.28, 348.26, 350.20, 400.19, 408.9, 410.16, 468.24, 482.28, 544.1, 550.18

prælium, prœlium, prelium, military engagement, war, battle: i. 160.7; ii. 6.26, 170.25, 174.22, 180.8, 182.19, 204.9, 218.10, 218.28, 224.22, 244.18, 312.32; iii. 8.21, 82.10, 92.24, 188.12, 314.4; iv. 18.7, 18.28, 26.36, 86.29, 210.6, 212.13, 260.30, 272.15, 290.6, 298.33; v. 44.29, 62.23, 80.9, 80.12, 80.23, 80.26, 84.24, 84.28, 96.34, 108.23, 116.33, 138.24, 160.28, 222.30, 314.10, 320.12, 360.13, 362.32, 364.26; vi. 82.31, 84.22, 88.10, 124.24, 132.13, 484.24, 540.33, 542.2; *see also* bellum, certamen, conflictus, pugna

præpositura, prepositura, office of prior, provost, or other authority: ii. 268.28; iii. 120.4; v. 204.7, 230.13; vi. 82.24, 276.3, 390.28; *see also* prioratus

prærogatiua, prerogatiua, special claim, precedence: ii. 300.4; iii. 136.19, 300.22; vi. 96.4, 210.2, 268.25

præses, preses, one in authority; a governor: ii. 174.25, 202.1, 222.15, 230.28; iii. 46.25; v. 322.7; vi. 286.9

præsidatus, sheriffdom, castellanship: ii. 220.14, 262.20, 264.9; iv. 124.15, 198.25

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præsul, presul, prelate, bishop, archbishop: i. 152.10, 155.29, 159.6, 188.33, 189.5, 190.24, 191.4, 199.16; ii. 4.11, 26.13, 26.18, 42.7, 46.42, 68.37, 70.6, 70.17, 72.12, 72.19, 78.5, 78.7, 92.12, 94.19, 118.11, 124.6, 136.28, 150.35, 152.19, 182.15, 184.1, 184.6, 184.16, 184.35, 188.26, 196.34, 200.2, 200.6, 204.17, 208.29, 208.35, 214.17, 218.19, 218.24, 228.18, 238.4, 238.18, 242.30, 244.6, 246.14, 254.7, 254.14, 254.30, 264.16, 300.24, 302.15, 302.17, 332.17, 342.2; iii. 8.21, 10.12, 12.13, 14.26, 16.9, 16.14, 18.8, 18.18, 20.31, 22.26, 24.1, 28.24, 32.28, 38.21, 42.2, 42.3, 42.17, 44.6, 46.4, 46.9, 46.28, 48.30, 50.20, 50.21, 50.26, 52.28, 54.15, 62.11 64.37, 70.7, 70.22, 74.17, 82.32, 84.4, 88.23, 92.29, 94.23, 120.17, 122.11, 124.10, 124.21, 194.15, 226.32, 334.35; iv. 8.15, 8.21, 38.32, 40.11, 42.31, 50.8, 58.12, 66.27, 68.26, 72.24, 76.16, 78.29, 84.29, 98.24, 110.9, 118.1, 124.3, 124.31, 126.28, 134.11, 150.2, 154.11, 166.15, 170.3, 170.7, 170.21, 176.17, 194.18, 234.34, 240.23, 252.12, 260.23, 262.20, 262.23, 264.16, 266.35, 278.21, 304.31, 306.27, 324.22, 328.2; v. 18.26, 22.18, 24.2, 24.6, 134.14, 154.24, 202.9, 204.1, 208.26, 210.10, 210.12, 236.5, 240.19, 246.23, 252.17, 262.9, 264.14, 264.28, 306.24, 312.4, 312.12, 320.31, 322.7, 356.12, 356.22; vi. 46.29, 46.31, 48.4, 54.13, 64.11, 76.14, 106.20, 128.10, 138.19, 140.32, 142.27, 142.33, 150.11, 156.8, 162.12, 168.1, 186.7, 188.26, 202.7, 202.25, 224.28, 228.11, 228.19, 228.29, 252.10, 254.4, 254.19, 258.8, 268.10, 270.34, 272.30, 282.26, 286.6, 290.2, 292.4, 292.10, 324.13, 328.1, 338.7, 338.27, 360.10, 362.30, 366.7, 388.30, 390.40, 402.20, 416.4, 418.14, 422.29, 454.3, 462.24, 478.4, 478.13, 494.16, 496.30, 508.24, 510.10, 510.13, 516.3, 530.21, 532.8, 532.9, 532.16, 534.7, 536.15, 538.11, 550.27, 554.26; *see also* antistes, pontifex, prælatus

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precamen, prayer: iii. 196.10; *see also* oratio

precluus, renowned: v. 118.27

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prefectus, magistrate: v. 272.12
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presaga, prophetess: v. 88.16, 96.23
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presbiterium, (*1*) priesthood: iii. 174.2, 176.6; (*2*) presbytery, sanctuary: iv. 104.32
presentialiter, immediately: iii. 130.9; v. 116.10
prestigator, magician: i. 172.4
pretaxatus, agreed beforehand: v. 24.9
pretaxo, to mention beforehand: vi. 124.16
pretitulo, to assign: vi. 362.33
pretorium, council chamber, castle: iv. 112.24; v. 248.9, 302.27; vi. 250.20; *see also* præsidium
primarius, chief man: v. 124.5; *see also* primores
primas, (*1*) magnate, leader: i. 130.18; ii. 176.9, 180.26, 192.24; iii. 116.21; *see also* primores; (*2*) primate, archbishop: i. 189.7; ii. 208.8; vi. 268.9, 310.13, 320.2, 364.22
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regulariter, (*1*) according to a monastic rule: ii. 54.7, 86.26, 152.20, 248.15; iii. 22.21, 226.21, 226.33, 280.19, 334.29; iv. 46.8, 54.19, 256.12, 316.26, 322.17; v. 210.25; vi. 146.23, 152.2, 308.10; (*2*) in an orderly way: ii. 254.26; vi. 174.5

rehabeo, to recover, regain: iii. 28.28

reimaginor, to represent: v. 18.22

releuator, restorer: iv. 338.1

relicta, widow: i. 157.14; ii. 178.24, 304.19; iii. 252.30; v. 306.22; vi. 308.23

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religiose, as a monk, piously: ii. 8.24; iii. 20.24, 30.19, 182.10, 254.19; iv. 314.13, 320.30; vi. 140.27

religiositas, monastic life: ii. 248.10

religiosus (sb.), monk, cleric, member of a religious order: i. 160.13; ii. 254.32, 272.22, 310.2, 320.25; iv. 312.1, 330.24; v. 26.30, 294.20, 320.16; vi. 36.34, 92.12, 96.6, 98.17, 150.20, 284.30

religiosus (adj.), pious, monastic, religious: i. 160.10, 172.26; ii. 10.28, 14.17, 18.9, 26.13, 48.14, 68.31, 70.6, 96.2, 108.9, 172.20, 192.2, 192.16, 198.20, 206.15, 208.29, 216.12, 222.28, 238.26, 240.22, 242.32, 258.17, 268.22, 268.24, 270.22, 294.21, 306.34, 320.20, 338.33, 340.3, 340.34; iii. 88.29, 112.16, 124.21, 148.10, 162.32, 180.10, 218.7, 220.1, 226.6, 226.33, 256.6, 298.24, 308.30, 324.2, 344.34; iv. 50.13, 54.22, 66.25, 78.29, 102.28, 112.8, 114.34, 116.16, 164.1, 188.15, 260.17, 262.23, 304.16, 306.4, 328.9, 328.31; v. 14.4, 168.27, 170.21, 188.22, 220.20, 236.19, 278.10; vi. 86.6, 124.33, 144.23, 210.3, 258.8, 270.35, 284.24, 292.26, 308.1, 312.12, 320.12, 322.32, 344.1, 426.9, 438.34, 460.24, 488.9, 512.28, 548.18

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remedium, remedy, aid: i. 189.34; ii. 2.23, 122.38, 332.4; iii. 298.9, 342.14; iv. 196.1

remex, rower, oarsman: v. 36.3; vi. 296.26, 298.6

remigo, to row; (?) to return by sea: iv. 64.29; v. 182.30, 256.9

remigro, to journey back: v. 118.2

remuneratio, a recompense, reward: i. 170.15, 187.15; ii. 188.33; iii. 100.28, 262.16; iv. 200.10; vi. 50.13, 240.19; *see also* retributio

remunero, to reward, recompense: ii. 358.36; iii. 48.1; iv. 284.5, 294.38; v. 352.7; vi. 16.12, 116.14, 122.15, 396.15

repagulum, barrier, bolt: iv. 182.18, 258.21; v. 364.22; vi. 108.14

reparabilis, that may be replaced: iii. 16.21

reparatio, healing: iii. 352.28

repatrio, to return home: ii. 196.12, 224.23; iv. 138.12

repausatio, repose: iv. 174.20

repositorius (adj.), storage: vi. 436.9

reptile, a reptile: iii. 44.32

resaiso, to reseise, reinstate in possession: vi. 180.16

responsorium, responsory, response: ii. 108.12, 108.15, 108.17, 108.24, 298.6

respublica, realm, commonweal, state: i. 153.20; iii. 64.34, 84.12; iv. 42.22, 82.10, 96.32; v. 240.20, 350.19, 372.30; vi. 248.29, 250.32, 536.12, 548.15

restauratio, restoration, refoundation: i. 130.16, 135.17; iii. 6.19; vi. 228.32

rethorica, rhetoric: ii. 148.4, 250.27

retribuo, to give what is due, recompense: i. 169.7; iii. 98.17, 194.1, 296.12; v. 146.2; *see also* recompenso, remunero

retributio, a reward, recompense: iv. 26.21, 42.11, 176.6; v. 174.8, 352.29; vi. 240.25; *see also* recompensatio, remuneratio

retrunco, to cut back, reduce: iv. 172.22

reus, one who is guilty, a criminal, culprit, sinner: i. 143.3, 170.35,

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reuolutio, turning over in the mind: iii. 212.8

rithmicus, rhythmic: v. 342.25

riuiga, stream: ii. 326.9

roga, pay, paid employment: v. 44.33

rogatio, solemn prayer, rogation days: iii. 56.12; v. 12.23, 238.13, 282.1; vi. 458.3

rota, wheel: iv. 14.18; vi. 154.27, 242.30, 544.9

rubiginosus, rusty: v. 96.13

rumigerulus, rumour-monger, messenger: v. 106.26, 350.3; vi. 234.29, 354.28

rumor, news, rumour: i. 136.35; ii. 144.22, 208.24, 304.4, 306.20, 322.24, 338.6, 348.9; iii. 240.6, 310.8, 348.32, 356.16; iv. 22.7, 32.5, 70.24, 84.19, 88.19, 136.6, 148.9, 292.28, 292.34, 294.15; v. 60.27, 76.11, 82.27, 94.19, 106.25, 118.8, 126.20, 160.19, 176.21, 234.4, 244.6, 254.32, 268.16, 302.4, 322.14, 342.30, 346.9; vi. 92.12, 108.3, 130.24, 132.23, 136.12, 160.23, 206.27, 230.10, 292.33, 300.18, 318.11, 344.26, 380.24, 410.22, 436.21, 444.1, 492.32, 494.2, 494.27, 532.11, 540.21; *see also* nuncium

rumphea, rumfea, sword: v. 286.30, 374.11; vi. 228.1

ruricola, husbandman, peasant: iii. 276.27; v. 26.3, 284.7; vi. 240.23; *see also* rusticus

rusticanus, rustic: ii. 88.2; iii. 222.24; vi. 488.13

rusticus (sb.), peasant, countryman: ii. 158.22, 296.23; iii. 234.28, 238.3, 238.15, 314.24, 318.20, 348.20; iv. 268.9, 320.3, 320.14; v. 16.22, 256.19; vi. 60.29, 114.12, 114.14, 186.29, 240.16, 342.23, 348.5, 352.8; *see also* ruricola

rusticus (adj.), country: ii. 20.4

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sacerdotium, priesthood: i. 137.26, 188.24, 189.26; ii. 84.22, 84.30, 332.22; iii. 68.5, 78.5, 168.5, 254.20, 328.22; v. 18.19; vi. 142.13, 554.31

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sacrarium, sanctuary, sacristy, tabernacle: iii. 342.7; iv. 320.21, 320.22; v. 170.14

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sacrilegus (adj.), impious, profane, sacrilegious: ii. 314.22; iii. 176.19, 238.25, 326.32; iv. 176.6; vi. 284.20
sæcularia (pl.), secular or worldly matters: ii. 250.18; vi. 144.2
sæcularis (sb.), worldly person, layman, secular clerk: iv. 186.25, 332.35; vi. 150.10
sæcularis, secularis (adj.), secular, temporal, worldly: i. 152.27, 155.26; ii. 4.12, 20.38, 40.6, 40.18, 44.9, 46.18, 48.13, 64.30, 66.5, 68.1, 96.1, 102.26, 104.27, 106.32, 126.2, 150.16, 178.29, 182.25, 196.5, 210.8, 238.20, 248.25, 258.18, 268.33, 294.29, 302.6, 338.23, 346.34; iii. 12.10, 14.3, 20.11, 84.13, 184.15, 214.16, 216.5, 246.19, 264.30; iv. 102.15, 110.14, 116.11, 118.13, 178.15, 256.17, 274.15, 298.10, 330.22; v. 4.29, 12.2, 196.6, 198.21, 202.28, 236.19, 310.22, 352.23; vi. 42.5, 100.1, 100.13, 128.7, 148.15, 262.1, 320.14, 338.16, 380.11, 404.1, 476.18
sæcularitas, worldly life: ii. 248.3
sæculariter, in a worldly fashion: ii. 130.22
sagacitas, acuteness, wisdom: i. 132.9, 196.33; ii. 66.27, 242.23, 330.32; iii. 312.2; iv. 288.24; vi. 148.10
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sagimen, lard: iv. 318.27
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sagittarius, archer: ii. 356.23; v. 138.12, 178.32, 242.6; vi. 28.28, 206.22, 348.27, 350.22, 444.3, 458.21, 470.18; *see also* archearius, architenens
sagitto, to shoot with arrows, discharge arrows: iv. 24.31; v. 38.18, 60.11, 112.25; vi. 112.29, 458.24
sahanas, Eastern title: vi. 108.29
saisio, to seise, put in possession of, take possession of: iii. 32.3, 160.27, 204.32; v. 22.11
sal, salt: i. 186.32; ii. 338.1; iii. 190.11, 190.26; vi. 472.15
salebra, roughness: v. 74.12
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salum, the sea, the deep: vi. 512.3
sambuca, saddle-cloth: iv. 240.12
sancio, to ratify, confirm, establish: ii. 192.22, 208.18, 272.14, 286.7; iii. 84.30, 138.24, 148.13, 246.10; v. 14.15, 24.5, 198.24, 268.9, 308.8, 318.30; vi. 138.5,

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sanctuarium, sanctuary, holy place: iii. 14.6, 124.4, 316.22; iv. 56.9; v. 4.17; vi. 470.29, 500.2

sandapila, bier: iv. 108.3

sanguinarius, blood-thirsty: iv. 156.17

sanguinolentus, bloody, blood-thirsty, sanguinary: ii. 300.12; iv. 238.32; v. 150.6, 242.16, 250.17; vi. 382.29

sapiens (sb.), a wise man, man of judgement: ii. 2.5, 44.10, 66.18, 76.8, 108.8, 108.31, 144.32, 208.9, 208.11, 208.17, 238.22, 262.15, 262.16, 268.22, 294.6, 302.1, 302.3, 312.1; iii. 98.35, 102.27, 186.8, 192.23; iv. 14.23, 78.21, 92.15, 152.4, 184.35, 268.25, 284.24; v. 98.19, 258.18, 288.1, 298.10, 308.25; vi. 10.5, 58.1, 94.4, 132.1, 174.26, 308.12, 450.9, 524.8, 534.17

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satellicius, attendant, follower: iii. 342.24

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scalciatus, bare: iv. 188.28
scannum, step, bench: ii. 24.35, 162.4
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scapularis, shoulder cloak: iii. 224.15
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scema, schema, way of life, monastic habit, style of dress: ii. 12.22, 40.8, 84.22, 126.2, 346.31; iii. 104.14, 132.25, 148.17, 188.22, 196.28, 226.32, 268.17, 338.19; iv. 70.6, 186.26, 302.4, 310.2, 310.27, 312.13, 318.24, 326.19; vi. 92.19, 138.12, 140.30
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sceptriger, king: ii. 318.3; v. 280.20; vi. 52.3, 58.9, 92.15, 96.31, 164.16, 218.25, 222.23, 234.9, 324.31, 354.35, 444.10, 450.29; *see also* sceptrifer
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scienter, knowingly: v. 12.12, 72.9
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scisma, schism: i. 161.29; ii. 98.13; iv. 166.24, 322.22; v. 236.9; vi. 312.28, 360.21, 392.15, 418.16
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scolasticus (adj.), pertaining to study: iii. 328.1
scoria, dross: iii. 144.27; v. 254.20
scorpio, scorpion: iv. 186.21, 188.24; vi. 66.16; *see also* nepa
scriba, scribe, clerk: ii. 344.31; vi. 304.22, 530.10; *see also* antigraphus, antiquarius
scribo, to write, write down: i. 148.18, 150.25, 162.23, 164.28, 172.23, 179.34, 182.24, 185.24, 196.15, 196.33; ii. 20.12, 38.20, 38.22, 48.31, 50.14, 50.19, 52.8, 52.12, 52.19, 78.28, 102.5, 106.29, 106.25, 108.26, 114.15, 114.20, 128.11, 142.17, 150.9, 156.6, 164.18, 166.32, 188.17, 198.26, 292.22, 360.23; iii. 6.14, 8.20, 20.13, 34.18, 58.17, 58.19, 66.12, 66.33, 68.1, 214.6, 214.19, 218.10,

260.26, 336.12, 348.30, 360.10; iv. 190.21, 192.3, 250.1, 328.24, 334.33; v. 6.23, 136.12, 186.24, 190.7, 304.16, 358.18; vi. 8.17, 30.25, 36.26, 116.6, 126.7, 146.4

scrinium, shrine, cupboard: iii. 24.2, 66.25, 304.14; iv. 194.20, 264.31, 266.2

scriptito, to write: ii. 108.35; vi. 8.7

scriptor, a writer, scribe: i. 130.10, 179.30; ii. 48.26, 50.14, 60.5, 86.10, 96.13, 328.26; iii. 80.33, 150.29, 214.8, 334.14; iv. 214.4; v. 262.12; vi. 282.9

scriptorium, metal style for writing: ii. 106.26

scriptum, writing, something written down, document: i. 130.5 (bis), 130.23, 138.6, 150.18, 172.24, 179.32, 182.19, 190.1, 191.1, 198.28, 198.35; ii. 246.15, 252.5, 252.9, 294.33, 296.3, 338.9; iii. 6.18, 8.17, 34.22, 40.16, 168.30, 224.25, 246.8, 260.8, 264.7, 282.31, 282.33, 290.33, 304.5; iv. 68.21, 164.15, 240.25, 248.33, 334.20; v. 6.14, 20.4, 190.1, 198.16, 288.26, 300.2; vi. 10.34, 140.4

sculpo, to carve, engrave: ii. 106.18, 354.17; iv. 180.23; vi. 38.20, 488.26

sculptor, a sculptor: iv. 330.7

scutum, shield: ii. 176.2; iii. 136.30; iv. 140.26, 140.30, 248.6; v. 52.12, 162.3, 222.17; vi. 66.10, 500.1; *see also* clipeus, umbo

secretum, secret, intimate counsel: i. 165.6; ii. 28.27, 76.3, 134.5, 246.18; iii. 228.24, 308.35, 332.17, 340.28; iv. 206.17, 326.2; v. 90.8, 146.27, 230.25, 364.31; vi. 52.19, 52.32, 68.9, 130.21, 200.25, 378.20; **a secretis,** in the confidence of: iii. 76.4, 144.31

securis, axe: ii. 44.36; iii. 222.14; v. 50.19; vi. 28.31, 396.28, 544.4

sedimen, study, accumulated knowledge: i. 130.12, 150.9, 165.11; ii. 18.9, 296.15; iii. 6.3, 6.14, 212.2, 242.15, 344.32, 346.10; v. 194.32

seditio, dissension, disturbance, sedition: ii. 78.17, 90.6, 132.1, 182.31, 192.29, 258.2; iii. 288.11, 288.19, 308.15; iv. 82.19, 96.25, 98.28, 148.31, 156.7, 162.7, 222.20, 224.3, 274.4, 286.4; v. 8.6, 24.11, 192.8; vi. 22.30, 180.24, 196.29, 204.10, 262.2, 294.8, 312.23, 396.17, 406.22, 484.25, 532.7, 532.23

seditiosus, sediciosus (sb.), a rebel: ii. 208.21, 216.30, 312.33, 316.7; iv. 78.5, 98.31, 124.17, 126.19, 150.1; v. 314.11; vi. 98.8, 156.6, 158.19, 494.24

seditiosus, sediciosus (adj.), rebellious, seditious: ii. 306.7; iii. 96.13; v. 306.27, 318.6; vi. 80.5, 92.5, 258.9, 522.19

sedula, scedula, a document: i. 132.3; ii. 114.17

sella, saddle: iii. 114.7; iv. 240.1; v. 230.19; vi. 240.31, 438.8

seminiuerbius, a preacher: iv. 332.22; v. 14.24, 252.26; vi. 338.11

semisopitus, half-asleep: v. 98.31

sempecta, (?) senior counsellor: iv. 196.2

senator, counsellor, man of rank: i. 153.19, 177.27; iv. 14.23, 40.2; v. 240.19

senatorius, senatorial: ii. 202.23

senatus, (*1*) Roman senate: ii. 140.31; (*2*) papal court: i. 158.30; ii. 112.33; iii. 10.15; vi. 210.1, 252.1, 254.19, 274.24, 478.2; (*3*) leading citizens: ii. 204.2, 210.28

senectus, old age: i. 143.35
senescalcus, steward: ii. 36.33; *see also* dapifer, dispensator, procurator
senior (sb.), magnate, elder, senior monk; venerable person: ii. 58.25, 60.1, 72.10, 104.32, 124.5, 152.7, 304.8, 324.5, 326.4, 338.13; iii. 6.22, 266.36, 282.31, 290.22, 306.6, 306.11, 332.11, 332.33; iv. 54.14, 122.10, 176.28, 328.15, 330.9; v. 88.13, 188.20, 272.36, 286.17, 288.21, 288.24, 296.12; vi. 256.16, 326.17, 340.3, 364.1, 390.26
senior (adj. comp. senex), older, senior: i. 138.27, 155.8; ii. 8.23, 84.24, 116.18, 116.27, 134.17, 200.16, 240.21, 304.12, 340.23; iii. 56.30, 58.6, 80.13, 84.6, 206.9, 252.10, 280.26; iv. 42.13, 70.3, 74.25, 208.2, 216.8; v. 202.29, 306.22; vi. 32.8, 364.7, 406.23
sententia, sentencia, (*1*) judicial sentence: ii. 248.29, 318.23; iii. 294.5; iv. 42.20, 98.4, 154.29; v. 38.17; vi. 222.16, 264.22, 290.31, 364.14; (*2*) opinion, decision, meaning, idea: i. 150.17; ii. 146.28, 252.29, 268.19, 294.32, 300.22; iii. 180.2; iv. 180.12, 322.2; v. 50.7, 108.8, 124.20, 328.10; vi. 64.4, 118.20, 254.25, 260.7, 274.1, 446.22, 502.17
septum, enclosure: ii. 278.20; iii. 144.25; iv. 320.6; vi. 14.7, 36.16, 312.30, 344.21; *see also* claustrum
sequester, mediator: iv. 52.10; vi. 86.9, 260.29
sequestro, to cut off, excommunicate: iv. 66.6, 194.12; v. 22.21; vi. 234.22; *see also* excommunico
seriatim, in due order, successively: i. 148.15, 150.7, 190.17; ii. 336.10; iii. 96.4, 288.18, 290.11; v. 6.26; vi. 266.1, 314.11, 374.16, 384.3
sericum, silk: ii. 64.10; v. 352.13; vi. 116.22
sericus, silken: ii. 318.19; iv. 332.19; vi. 120.36
seruiens, servant (in religious sense): ii. 338.16, 344.19; iii. 152.19, 262.3, 266.31; iv. 122.23
seruilis, servile, belonging to servants: iii. 224.18; iv. 320.4, 320.18
seruitium, seruicium, (*1*) secular service: ii. 60.32, 82.3, 82.21, 142.32, 234.26, 268.32, 272.14; iii. 28.3, 152.34, 156.33, 174.10, 184.2, 186.27, 188.28, 188.30, 202.38, 224.21, 230.11, 250.22, 258.32; iv. 14.15, 88.7, 100.12, 126.2, 132.25, 134.29, 154.10, 154.35, 222.9, 224.33, 234.1, 268.14, 282.7, 298.25; v. 22.15, 202.27, 248.3, 274.14, 306.2, vi. 24.27, 60.22, 278.10, 286.14, 352.22, 488.13, 510.15, 522.18; (*2*) spiritual service: ii. 14.25, 74.3, 76.25, 148.25, 148.36, 342.22; iii. 8.9, 16.5, 28.4, 28.6, 30.23, 162.11, 164.11, 192.27, 194.29, 206.21, 216.15, 272.3, 280.21, 324.27, 358.27; iv. 92.3, 198.14, 320.25, 326.4; v. 128.8, 228.24, 278.14, 290.21, 352.35; vi. 336.29, 480.2, 552.14; **seruicium militare, militarium,** military service: iv. 88.15, 200.9; v. 316.25; vi. 32.11; *see also* ministerium, seruitus
seruitus, (*1*) secular service: ii. 82.8, 220.30; iii. 100.27, 176.16, 244.24, 248.1, 270.28; iv. 20.35, 26.21, 132.27; v. 118.17, 196.13, 206.23, 248.4, 368.22; vi. 442.19, 472.20; (*2*) servitude, slavery: iii. 270.16; iv. 138.34; v. 140.16, 338.33; vi. 384.13; (*3*) service of God: ii. 254.23; iii. 260.11; iv. 164.17, 334.23; v. 126.15,

266.19; vi. 42.2, 556.4; *see also* seruitium

seruus, (*1*) servant: i. 135.11; ii. 20.21, 46.6, 52.20, 54.1, 66.8, 72.7, 156.27, 162.3, 164.4, 242.1, 294.22, 332.22, 352.30; iii. 6.4, 14.26, 44.10, 174.18, 194.1, 194.29, 198.13, 224.9, 228.28, 268.30, 270.23, 272.18, 274.4, 278.10, 284.18, 284.27, 286.7, 288.14, 292.18, 298.19, 300.11, 332.24, 344.21, 346.17, 346.18, 348.14, 356.10, 356.11; iv. 14.10, 40.26, 68.24, 78.22, 162.10, 162.18, 272.14, 302.7, 318.24, 320.4, 328.9; v. 252.10, 350.25, 358.1; vi. 94.16, 140.60, 312.32, 314.10, 326.18, 460.24, 552.7, 552.22; (*2*) serf, slave: iii. 96.27, 326.4; iv. 32.26; v. 358.30

sigillatus, sealed: vi. 378.11

sigillum, seal: ii. 112.23, 338.23, 342.10; iii. 130.26; iv. 96.6; vi. 50.28, 176.1, 324.19

signifer, standard-bearer, leader: ii. 4.19, 6.26, 98.12, 140.25; iii. 124.25; iv. 224.11, 264.10; v. 74.12, 152.28, 184.23, 238.21

significatio, meaning, signification: iv. 68.18

significo, to mean, signify, to make known: ii. 338.27, 358.11; iii. 106.1, 106.2, 224.25, 260.22

signipotens, miracle-working: iii. 360.2; iv. 164.21

signo, to mark with a cross, seal, distinguish: ii. 38.28, 112.23, 338.24, 342.11; iv. 68.17, 68.21, 70.10, 96.6; v. 230.18, 230.23; vi. 50.29, 176.1, 324.20, 384.20, 410.34

signum, (*1*) mark, signature on document: ii. 38.21, 38.28, 342.13; iii. 40.2, 140.22, 238.23, 238.28; (*2*) bell: ii. 114.22; iii. 224.31, 278.20; iv. 100.22, 194.21; v. 292.15; vi. 224.31, 470.32, 480.3; (*3*) miracle, portent: i. 134.25, 137.21, 143.2, 164.9, 164.19, 167.14, 170.27; ii. 136.24, 276.19, 276.23, 336.29, 348.11; iii. 64.38, 224.26; iv. 68.9, 334.10, 334.29; v. 8.28, 104.22, 112.35, 192.2, 216.26, 358.13; vi. 8.11, 8.30, 226.26, 382.7; *see also* miraculum, prodigium; (*4*) signal: ii. 174.1, 178.9, 204.25; v. 66.19, 112.14, 114.9, 122.1, 156.3; vi. 298.2; (*5*) banner, emblem: ii. 308.10; v. 34.27, 114.2, 116.23, 116.26 (bis), 172.19, 180.3; (*6*) Zodiacal sign: iv. 238.4; vi. 298.18; (*7*) token, proof: ii. 178.18, 346.20; iv. 140.34, 244.34, 246.19; v. 50.22, 142.23, 222.17, 282.22; (*8*) battle cry: v. 362.33; vi. 216.21, 216.23, 242.10; (*9*) target: v. 38.18; **signum crucis,** sign of the cross: i. 175.22; ii. 156.20, 342.13; iii. 40.27, 140.22, 224.13, 238.23, 238.28; iv. 218.11; v. 14.26, 30.13, 30.14, 74.1, 78.31, 110.19, 180.28, 230.20; vi. 174.21, 498.9

silex, stone, rock: ii. 246.25; v. 104.15

silicernius (sb.), old man: i. 136.9; iii. 122.4, 324.2, 330.19; iv. 206.12; vi. 242.3

silicernius (adj.), aged: vi. 140.32

siluaticus, wild: ii. 194.13, 218.2; iii. 152.32, 248.28

siluosus, wooded: iii. 334.16

similagineus, made of fine white flour: iii. 344.9

simnista, companion, colleague: i. 141.5; vi. 30.25, 66.18

simonia, simony: iv. 90.23

simoniacus, simoniacal: ii. 238.27; v. 322.9; vi. 247.28

simonialis, simoniacal: vi. 74.7

simpliciter, sincerely, frankly, utterly: i. 130.17, 130.35; ii.

simpliciter (*cont.*): 66.7, 112.18, 256.32, 296.9; iv. 328.18; v. 190.13; vi. 136.21, 254.29, 342.26, 436.24
sinagoga, a gathering, synagogue: i. 167.15; v. 176.29; vi. 118.29
sinaxis, a meeting for prayer; **sinaxis matutina,** matins: vi. 446.15, 544.14; **sinaxis uespertalis,** vespers: iv. 266.7
sindon, shroud: ii. 334.18, 336.22
sinmatita, fellow-pupil: i. 130.15; iii. 214.2
sinodalis, synodal: ii. 268.34; v. 18.29
sinodum, synodal dues: iii. 32.8
sinodus, synod, council: i. 161.4, 198.2; ii. 92.2, 92.9, 200.19, 236.29, 250.36; iii. 32.8, 34.26, 50.18, 52.10, 52.31, 54.18, 62.11, 70.12; iv. 8.15, 8.18, 60.1, 252.10, 328.25; v. 10.22, 14.14, 20.2, 20.5, 22.1, 22.11, 24.5, 206.24, 212.1; vi. 66.8, 202.23, 252.10, 252.14, 252.22, 256.11, 258.30, 260.20, 264.31, 268.5, 268.27, 270.27, 274.23, 284.11, 290.27, 292.11, 294.3, 320.20, 422.10, 442.15, 446.34, 528.24; *see also* concilium
sintagma, book, treatise, written doctrine: i. 130.11; ii. 20.6, 86.18, 296.6; iii. 8.22, 346.7; vi. 326.11
sirma, robe with a train: iv. 188.26
soboles, offspring, descendants: ii. 126.13, 216.17, 224.2, 262.6, 280.27, 356.13; iii. 112.4, 112.20, 116.13, 126.32, 180.14, 196.13, 266.3, 308.13; iv. 12.8, 130.1, 160.24, 184.8, 204.25, 212.1, 274.28, 284.19, 300.13; v. 128.13, 200.13, 228.16, 274.4, 360.9, 378.20; vi. 40.24, 42.14, 44.9, 52.25, 54.1, 78.2, 94.20, 132.31, 164.9, 164.24, 212.6, 212.32, 248.22, 308.16, 328.33, 360.18, 370.4, 430.11, 430.33, 450.26; *see also* progenies
socer, father-in-law: ii. 138.22; iv. 198.9, 290.8; v. 280.2; vi. 14.22, 30.35, 42.13, 224.26, 278.15, 390.24, 444.7, 444.19, 540.11
societas, fellowship, fraternity, group, confederacy: ii. 24.10, 168.3; iii. 118.15, 174.21, 186.15, 256.12, 342.29; iv. 62.13, 282.15; v. 218.3; vi. 174.12, 204.4, 514.12
socrus, mother-in-law: vi. 432.3
sodalicium, society: iv. 92.16
sodalis, companion, comrade: ii. 40.11, 168.29, 234.9, 320.32, 356.16; iii. 112.30; iv. 50.4, 62.10, 96.12, 102.25, 142.22, 216.30, 222.15, 322.3; v. 36.4, 76.9, 94.5, 122.3, 124.21, 124.30, 170.10, 172.24, 238.18, 290.5, 324.13; vi. 88.19, 110.11, 122.22, 154.1, 204.7, 220.7, 244.10, 356.31, 384.7, 404.2, 464.16, 488.27, 508.2, 554.13
sodomesticus, sodomitic: iv. 146.29
soldanus, sultan: v. 94.24, 374.18; vi. 106.1, 120.27, 120.30, 122.8, 122.9
solenniter, with pomp or splendour, solemnly: ii. 160.10, 164.25, 236.23, 242.15, 280.7; iii. 12.4, 158.16; iv. 166.7; v. 44.9, 72.13, 74.21, 228.17, 266.19, 280.8, 286.14
solennizo, to solemnize, celebrate: vi. 488.4, 544.15
solidarius, stipendiary: ii. 220.29; *see also* stipendiarius
solidus, shilling: ii. 166.27, 266.22; iii. 130.18, 184.14, 184.15, 186.14, 190.18, 190.22; iv. 58.25, 106.19, 198.6, 258.35; v. 104.31, 242.29, 312.8; vi. 180.17
solstitium, solstice: v. 130.11
soma, body, corpse: ii. 164.27; iii.

18.1; iv. 104.16, 144.31; vi. 306.8, 448.29
somnium, dream: ii. 124.6; iv. 218.3, 218.6; v. 284.22, 288.25, 288.28; vi. 380.21, 380.25
somnum, dream: i. 136.4
sonipes, steed, horse: ii. 234.15; iii. 104.30, 110.12; vi. 10.12, 220.18; *see also* caballus, cornipes, dextrarius, equus, mannus, palefridus
sophisma, sophistry, fallacy, trick: iii. 180.9, 242.29, 310.35; iv. 78.5; v. 374.32, 376.15; vi. 502.16
sophista, sophysta, learned man, scholar, philosopher: i. 150.22, 155.30; ii. 12.19, 66.24, 190.13, 224.5, 280.13, 280.28, 294.25; iii. 98.32, 198.11, 212.25, 264.1, 290.37; iv. 92.17, 190.33, 304.33, 306.4, 326.5; v. 4.23, 188.14, 198.21, 298.14; vi. 52.34, 58.17, 86.13, 274.3, 362.15, 388.2, 446.22, 544.21; *see also* philosophus
sophus, a wise man: v. 272.31; *see also* sapiens
sophya, wisdom: ii. 294.31; v. 204.21, 332.17; vi. 274.8, 444.12, 452.34; *see also* sapientia
sororius, brother-in-law; cousin: ii. 220.15, 310.29; iii. 80.10, 192.8, 200.34, 256.21; iv. 28.31, 32.21, 96.21, 168.10, 184.17, 204.28, 274.19; v. 34.18; vi. 230.2, 346.20, 350.28, 356.10, 368.11, 470.15
sortilega, sorceress: v. 96.24, 312.25; vi. 124.30
sortilegus, soothsayer: iv. 38.30
speciosus, handsome, beautiful, splendid: ii. 118.26, 262.30; iv. 224.26, 230.17; v. 52.23, 54.10, 270.31; vi. 232.18, 380.5
spectabiliter, magnificently: ii. 136.6
speculator, a look-out: iv. 60.8; vi. 500.16
speculatiuus, contemplative: iii. 224.21
speculor, to spy out, observe: iv. 140.16, 218.31; v. 316.10, 372.27; vi. 8.26, 234.13
sperma, seed, sperm: iv. 144.6
spica, ear of corn: v. 64.18; vi. 438.16
spiculator, spy, assassin: v. 158.7
spiculatus, armed: iv. 212.30
spiculum, dart, arrow, pointed missile: ii. 270.11; iv. 140.30; v. 52.10, 138.12; vi. 86.3, 384.15, 386.30, 452.16; *see also* iaculum, missilis
spiritualia (pl.), spiritual things: ii. 2.12; iii. 264.3, 274.14; vi. 262.1
spiritualiter, spiritually, in respect of spiritual things: i. 156.2; ii. 74.23, 106.23, 336.21; iii. 240.19; v. 206.24, 252.27, 338.5; vi. 256.9
spondeo, (*1*) to promise, become security for: ii. 326.27; iii. 104.3; iv. 100.7; v. 142.28, 144.38, 360.26, 360.33; vi. 14.24, 40.23, 52.21, 116.31, 166.17, 196.24, 202.1, 216.14, 228.33, 284.16, 298.2, 306.11, 372.13, 410.36, 540.16, 546.19, 552.31; (*2*) to betroth: vi. 180.32, 514.18; *see also* desponso
spondeum, a spondee: iii. 18.19
sponsa, bride, wife, betrothed: ii. 288.27, 310.16, 356.15; iii. 14.35, 16.2, 46.32; iv. 42.15, 144.11; v. 286.29, 300.26, 358.23; vi. 140.11, 192.8, 302.18, 378.25; *see also* coniunx, uxor
sponsio, a guarantee, promise: iii. 126.6; v. 46.35; vi. 48.19
sponsus, spouse, bridegroom, husband, betrothed: i. 181.33; ii. 54.2, 104.2, 288.26; iii. 114.16,

sponsus (*cont.*): 266.29; v. 378.1; vi. 60.7, 192.8, 302.18, 330.12, 330.19; *see also* coniunx, maritus, uir
stabularium; stabulariorum comes, constable: ii. 174.26; *see also* conestabilis
staminium, shirt: ii. 42.25; iv. 314.5
stantarum, standard: v. 180.36, 188.1
stater, stater, a small coin: v. 104.32
statera, scales, balance: vi. 132.6
statutum, (*1*) decree, statute, decision: iii. 118.19; iv. 26.18, 126.18, 270.8, 334.22; vi. 56.25; (*2*) canon: i. 195.5; ii. 146.17, 286.10, 286.12; iii. 24.27; iv. 80.22; v. 198.20; vi. 528.25; *see also* decretum, scitum
stella, star: i. 134.13; ii. 134.14, 298.1; iii. 94.4; v. 8.19, 8.20, 8.21, 8.33, 10.3, 180.6, 286.26
stemma, reward, crown, nobility, stock, line of descendants: i. 153.16; ii. 84.29, 124.25, 140.29, 248.14, 276.30, 302.15, 332.22; iii. 18.28, 100.25, 182.23; iv. 76.10, 120.13, 160.25, 196.27; v. 200.13, 294.9, 310.21, 366.1; vi. 8.16, 36.38, 70.3, 142.13, 170.21, 222.24, 348.8, 386.32, 420.7, 434.18, 476.15
sterilensis, sterling (of money): ii. 148.34, 150.4, 266.22, 352.12; iii. 146.13, 234.18; v. 224.21, 312.8, 318.24
stipendia (pl.), wages, rewards, pay: ii. 196.12, 268.26, 268.31; iii. 98.17; iv. 38.18, 176.10; v. 16.6, 118.19, 130.23, 196.14, 202.26, 216.17, 276.24; vi. 294.13, 350.1, 396.5; *see also* merces
stipendiarius (sb.), stipendiary soldier, mercenary: ii. 58.9, 268.35, 358.35; vi. 234.12, 350.32; vi. 28.13, 28.18, 190.10, 432.17, 482.15; *see also* mercenarius
stipendiarius (adj.), mercenary, stipendiary: v. 292.19; vi. 24.22, 28.7, 448.14; *see also* solidarius
stips, payment, alms: iv. 328.7; v. 42.28, 130.24, 244.10; vi. 286.21
stola, stole: ii. 286.25; vi. 142.14, 294.6, 554.28
stomachatio, anger: iv. 206.24
stramen, straw: vi. 216.17, 216.21, 524.19
stranguria, strangury: iii. 170.23
strator, constable, marshal, commander: v. 120.27, 272.10, 276.33; vi. 22.1, 100.30, 246.20; *see also* magister militum, princeps militiæ, stabulariorum comes
strenue, stalwartly, valiantly: i. 152.24, 154.10, 158.2; ii. 10.10, 184.26, 294.33; iii. 126.5, 128.1, 254.22, 308.23, 328.15; iv. 14.3, 46.6, 104.38, 170.4, 198.8, 220.1, 252.18, 256.5, 290.6, 338.30; v. 128.12, 156.29, 186.2, 192.10, 306.2, 344.14; vi. 136.14, 150.5, 210.13, 342.4, 396.9, 432.3
strenuitas, valour, capability: ii. 74.16, 84.1, 280.11, 282.24; iv. 36.15, 122.5, 210.27, 304.5; v. 18.14, 34.7, 66.4, 206.5, 244.20, 246.31, 270.9, 272.30, 272.36, 306.2, 322.18, 324.18, 328.18, 358.31; vi. 84.13, 232.16, 302.16, 348.19, 352.2, 360.21, 362.23, 366.2, 452.4
strenuus, valiant, warlike, gallant: i. 153.22, 191.16; ii. 24.27, 40.9, 84.5, 100.4, 184.28, 194.18, 206.13, 208.30, 220.8, 272.33, 310.1, 312.16, 314.2, 342.10; iii. 20.3, 64.7, 96.22, 142.17, 214.26, 240.30, 280.14; iv. 20.7, 32.14, 50.20, 72.2, 72.9, 82.16, 86.31, 112.13, 114.34, 132.18, 158.23, 160.17, 160.20, 202.4, 274.8,

336.19, 338.23, 340.2; v. 52.37, 84.19, 108.8, 110.11, 208.65, 248.17, 272.27, 278.11, 294.1, 298.13, 306.8, 314.18, 336.30, 338.18, 346.16, 348.6, 374.25; vi. 38.1, 62.34, 74.18, 76.11, 80.2, 106.9, 114.17, 118.22, 120.19, 158.9, 230.17, 232.4, 240.8, 246.29, 260.15, 318.5, 394.12, 408.18, 414.15, 434.10

stropha, trick, artifice: v. 64.6

studeo, to strive, devote oneself to, take pains: i. 150.25, 165.9, 169.27; ii. 2.25, 76.2, 118.16, 126.31, 150.22, 184.34, 230.32, 248.25, 258.37, 292.20, 298.27, 302.20, 308.26, 324.36, 340.27, 346.11, 348.7, 352.19; iii. 20.8, 92.28, 120.28, 138.22, 148.11, 162.35, 194.36, 198.31, 206.28, 256.9, 256.34, 258.2, 268.25, 298.36, 340.7, 342.21; iv. 6.13, 6.16, 22.26, 24.29, 78.28, 106.5, 110.14, 114.22, 134.30, 142.37, 172.6, 178.4, 182.13, 186.13, 260.25, 272.3, 276.23, 278.19, 296.8, 306.13, 306.35, 324.29, 332.31, 338.29; v. 154.6, 204.10, 248.20, 300.17; vi. 44.18, 48.17, 88.27, 98.14, 134.2, 152.31, 152.34, 200.28, 218.21, 286.16, 310.3, 326.30, 374.31, 430.3, 482.18, 536.13

studiose, carefully, diligently, zealously: ii. 78.28, 166.14, 252.28, 280.17; iii. 16.4, 102.33, 118.10, 176.8, 304.25; iv. 266.21

studiosus (sb.), scholar, learned person: i. 165.1; iii. 88.22, 212.8; iv. 56.3, 228.20; vi. 386.18

studiosus (adj.), fervent, assiduous, zealous: i. 139.7, 148.15, 191.6; ii. 108.27, 224.9, 238.9, 246.5, 250.31; iii. 178.28, 204.38, 218.8, 308.30; iv. 106.32, 162.26; v. 208.15, 236.20; vi. 274.4

studium, zeal, exertion, study, work: i. 156.24, 182.24, 186.20, 190.19, 196.33; ii. 10.11, 20.12, 20.14, 20.25, 50.8, 52.13, 74.9, 86.5, 86.20, 96.14, 102.10, 104.26, 144.20, 146.11, 164.25, 172.31, 178.34, 186.12, 188.25, 190.20, 192.13, 192.15, 196.27, 198.29, 200.23, 218.30, 238.10, 238.31, 244.1, 246.12, 250.20, 250.25, 260.1, 296.20, 298.3, 302.28, 306.4, 324.10, 340.39, 346.28, 354.4, 354.23; iii. 4.2, 10.8, 64.1, 68.6, 68.9, 82.31, 134.18, 146.28, 154.18, 164.20, 168.1, 168.24, 178.6, 222.24, 228.15, 244.6, 264.13, 266.12, 278.21, 282.34, 294.22, 298.24, 306.2, 330.32, 330.35, 334.29, 344.35; iv. 52.6, 72.20, 72.33, 92.12, 118.5, 120.8, 142.37, 148.6, 162.12, 180.11, 252.19, 278.1, 302.19, 304.24, 312.20, 320.13, 320.18, 332.36, 334.18; v. 4.12, 188.22, 192.12, 204.22, 222.15, 238.3, 316.3; vi. 10.9, 150.20, 178.1, 262.5, 328.7, 358.25, 392.5, 512.30, 530.7

suauis, delightful, sweet: ii. 42.16, 72.11, 334.31, 354.24; iii. 346.21; iv. 66.14; v. 232.17; vi. 450.5

suauitas, delight, sweetness: iii. 298.29; iv. 60.24

suauiter, graciously, delightfully: ii. 298.5; iii. 8.14, 348.10; vi. 150.30, 182.28

subcinericius, baked in the ashes: iii. 274.3

subdiaco, sub-deacon: vi. 276.24; *see also* subdiaconus

subdiaconatus, sub-deaconry: i. 151.11; iii. 20.14

subdiaconus, sub-deacon: i. 165.8, 174.7, 196.21; ii. 242.2, 290.1; iii. 26.16, 58.21; v. 12.7, 12.8, 14.1; vi. 554.27; *see also* subdiaco

subiugalis, beast of burden: v. 62.28, 64.19
subprior, subprior: ii. 338.13; iii. 168.7
subscribo, to subscribe a document, write below: ii. 38.29, 114.16, 286.9; iii. 140.25, 140.26, 238.28, 238.29; vi. 174.22
subscriptio, subscription (to a charter): ii. 16.33; iii. 130.12, 176.22
substantia, property, wealth: ii. 30.32, 86.3, 272.26; iii. 156.34, 260.13, 262.5, 278.15, 330.33; v. 84.35
subtolaris, shoe: iii. 188.16, 188.18, 210.15; iv. 186.17, 186.23; vi. 62.27
suburbanus, inhabitant of a suburb: iv. 222.34
suburbium, suburb: ii. 298.16; iii. 84.26, 148.3; v. 42.2, 144.3; vi. 366.13
succenturiæ, succenturiati (pl.), reinforcements: v. 78.18, 114.32
suffasciatus, wrapped-up: ii. 166.6
suffraganeus (sb.), (*1*) suffragan bishop: ii. 238.2, 286.2; iv. 264.17; vi. 254.11, 268.3, 508.24; (*2*) substitute, subordinate ecclesiastic: ii. 290.3; iii. 28.12
suffraganeus (adj.), suffragan: ii. 16.32, 198.17, 342.12; iii. 12.3; iv. 124.31, 252.12; v. 18.31; vi. 202.7, 258.20
suggillo, to trample underfoot: vi. 86.36
sulleuator, attendant: v. 152.30
summoneo, to summon: vi. 12.18, 314.18
summonitio, a summons: vi. 446.4
superciliosus, insubordinate: v. 154.12
suppellectilis, supellectilis, furnishing, bedding, household goods: ii. 352.10; iii. 242.3, 314.25, 316.1; iv. 102.2, 238.18, 288.7; v. 62.29, 114.11, 140.13, 186.29, 244.17, 364.28; vi. 60.27, 62.4, 122.1, 204.12, 286.35, 312.32, 474.3
suppetiæ (pl.), assistance, aid: ii. 216.22, 308.25, 352.7; iii. 108.20; iv. 200.18, 222.6, 232.24; v. 106.13, 198.1, 244.22, 348.23; vi. 48.14, 160.1, 182.10, 246.19, 376.3, 396.7, 400.23
suppliciter, humbly, suppliantly: i. 180.20; ii. 28.30, 60.35, 68.35, 332.32; iii. 104.20, 110.24, 154.6, 164.10, 204.23, 282.14, 284.32; iv. 20.6, 90.13, 96.17, 98.22; v. 40.2, 138.14, 284.28, 326.32, 350.27; vi. 154.12, 228.31, 258.16, 378.29, 436.15, 552.4
supplicium, punishment, torture, torment: i. 182.3, 186.26, 194.12; ii. 42.22, 46.25, 212.14, 244.36, 314.26; iii. 48.4, 56.18, 294.7; iv. 176.11, 238.23, 240.8, 242.16, 246.36, 248.5, 298.14, 298.21; vi. 384.21, 406.18
suspendio, suspensio, hanging: ii. 314.26; vi. 26.27, 460.13
sustentamentum, prop: v. 134.2, 258.27; vi. 214.6
sutor, cobbler: iv. 186.20

tabella, writing tablet: iii. 218.10
tabernaculum, tent, tabernacle: ii. 40.17, 216.33; iii. 326.14, 326.15
tabidus, wasting away, languishing: ii. 232.10; v. 10.9
tabula, (*1*) tablet: ii. 106.27; (*2*) altar table: iv. 62.8; (*3*) plank: vi. 130.34, 298.11
taciturnitas, silence: ii. 258.36; iv. 320.8; vi. 364.2
tantillus, so little: iv. 324.24
tarisus, mysterious word interpre-

ted 'parched with sin': iv. 266.18, 266.25
tartareus, hellish: i. 186.25; iv. 146.4
tartaro, tarteron, small copper coin: v. 334.7, 334.9, 338.11, 338.16
taxatio, appraisal: v. 188.17
taxo, to value, determine: iv. 80.19
tellus, earth, ground, land: ii. 332.8; iv. 34.25, 62.28, 106.19, 172.16, 198.19; v. 196.11, 310.5; vi. 20.8, 34.29, 96.11, 208.18, 336.5
telum, weapon, sword, dart, missile: ii. 204.33, 282.16; iii. 106.30, 220.21; iv. 214.27; v. 52.10, 78.22, 82.17, 138.16, 366.28; vi. 400.24; *see also* missilis, spiculum
temetum, wine: iv. 62.15
templum, (*1*) church: i. 196.8; ii. 52.3, 298.4; iii. 40.18, 220.20, 314.27; iv. 54.7, 224.25, 306.8; v. 172.16, 288.3, 320.19; vi. 36.30, 152.33, 186.21, 290.25, 292.8; (*2*) temple: i. 135.24, 136.7, 137.18, 138.35, 170.32, 180.8, 180.9; ii. 274.32; iii. 310.2, 316.21; iv. 34.12, 122.21; v. 172.6, 172.10, 172.17, 172.18; vi. 74.6, 82.15
temporalia (pl.), worldly goods: iii. 266.8
temporalis, temporal, worldly: ii. 104.2, 268.31, 292.23; iii. 124.2, 194.16, 278.13; iv. 172.14; v. 380.1
temporaliter, temporarily: iii. 26.28
tentorium, a tent: ii. 352.4, 352.9; v. 42.15, 42.18, 42.21, 50.24, 54.10, 58.8, 60.8, 62.26, 70.18, 70.19, 74.7, 74.14, 80.21, 82.31, 86.11, 106.8, 114.10, 114.12, 114.31, 122.7, 122.34, 144.31, 156.20, 182.6, 186.28, 242.6, 244.9, 258.1, 332.9, 336.19; vi. 106.26, 108.2, 108.4, 198.19, 278.6, 376.23, 382.18, 382.19, 382.26, 504.17, 504.22, 504.32, 526.12
teomachus, enemy of God: vi. 274.19; *see also* theomachia
tergiuersatio, a declining, refusing; a subterfuge: ii. 76.16, 144.12; iv. 30.28, 158.10, 172.4, 220.26, 300.19; v. 148.31, 158.13, 248.12; vi. 102.12, 118.34, 158.6, 242.21, 500.26
teripes, stirrup: iv. 244.4
terræmotus, earthquake: ii. 276.21
terribiliter, dreadfully, terribly: ii. 110.33, 176.10, 286.28, 298.29, 358.37; iii. 14.13, 102.26, 112.10, 316.19, 318.28; iv. 124.30, 194.13, 210.13, 244.8; v. 284.11, 336.15, 348.30, 362.34; vi. 186.20, 504.19, 548.30
terrigenæ (pl.), dwellers on earth, mankind, worldlings, inhabitants: ii. 112.17, 190.3, 284.10, 360.23; iii. 86.20, 214.5, 224.29, 334.13, 360.17; iv. 40.1, 92.5, 106.34, 160.10, 190.7, 242.27, 334.10; v. 8.8, 290.10, 358.20; vi. 10.22, 30.26, 56.20, 74.14, 166.27, 208.21, 262.23, 304.6, 338.14, 436.14, 476.28, 490.6, 528.29
tessera, a square piece of wood, dice: ii. 358.6; iii. 20.9; iv. 188.13
testa, shell: ii. 132.21
testamentum, (*1*) Testament (biblical): ii. 2.5, 50.1, 186.17, 246.19; iii. 216.22; iv. 108.15; (*2*) charter, deed: ii. 16.30, 38.18, 40.4, 40.33, 342.10; iii. 140.22, 140.24, 220.2, 232.22, 238.23; v. 198.24; vi. 174.29; *see also* carta, cirographus

testificor, to bear witness: v. 102.7
testimonium, testimony, witness, evidence, repute: i. 136.20; ii. 60.26, 112.19, 190.19, 302.8; iii. 186.16, 220.12, 232.29, 268.11; iv. 156.23, 262.28; v. 38.16, 320.13; vi. 170.8, 240.29, 322.24, 416.22, 456.17
testis, a witness: i. 149.31, 164.18; ii. 64.9, 84.15; iii. 122.16, 122.21, 126.22, 148.2, 158.6, 166.3, 176.24, 190.18, 204.12, 250.7, 250.29, 352.3, 358.20; iv. 184.28; vi. 16.21, 80.11, 226.10, 288.17, 324.28
testor, to bear witness, testify, make known: ii. 108.12; iii. 346.27; v. 18.18, 66.29, 88.19, 178.7
testudo, 'tortoise', protective covering of shields: v. 52.12
teter, foul, loathsome, dark: i. 152.10; iii. 14.19, 168.14; iv. 106.27, 238.30, 248.1; v. 292.11, 352.20; vi. 266.21, 304.29, 438.16
tetrarchia, tetrarchy: i. 138.22; iii. 280.27, 282.8
textus, text, written document, book: ii. 108.35, 118.12, 216.14; iii. 128.22, 134.11, 172.12, 192.7, 230.12, 346.15; iv. 30.10; vi. 274.27, 528.27
thalamus, talamus, room, chamber: i. 137.3; iii. 180.14, 336.17
theloneum, teloneum, toll: ii. 32.24, 32.29, 32.33, 34.2, 34.11, 36.13; iii. 128.26, 128.29, 250.20
thema, tema, topic, theme: iii. 8.21, 214.6; iv. 110.22; v. 4.12, 6.21; vi. 10.33
theologus, teologus, one who treats of divine things, a theologian: i. 179.32; iii. 8.22; iv. 146.31; v. 170.25
theomachia, enemy of God: iii. 360.21; *see also* teomachus
theoria, divine contemplation, spiritual study: i. 169.29; ii. 20.13, 76.34, 266.3, 294.31; iii. 106.6, 224.22, 270.2; vi. 36.12, 496.33
theorica (sb.), speculation, contemplation: ii. 244.13; iii. 206.8
thesaurarius, treasurer: iii. 20.30
thesaurus, (*1*) treasure: i. 135.32; ii. 164.33, 166.9, 202.29, 216.12, 264.19, 280.2; iii. 220.7, 318.11, 322.8, 332.18, 350.4; iv. 8.24, 16.4, 58.30, 60.28, 62.28, 70.12, 80.17, 90.17, 94.28, 94.29, 118.26, 174.34, 224.31, 272.1, 308.19; v. 202.24, 208.14, 290.13, 312.23, 312.27, 336.6, 364.28, 374.26; vi. 48.29, 50.2, 100.1, 116.21, 118.14, 122.14, 228.17, 296.34, 306.4, 336.32, 340.21, 432.11, 434.8, 448.12; (*2*) treasury: iv. 240.35
theusebia, worship: iii. 42.2; iv. 300.30
thorus, bed: ii. 220.12; iii. 120.17, 180.17, 292.28; iv. 146.29, 282.26; vi. 40.1, 258.28
thronus, tronus, throne: i. 149.28, 156.7, 173.8, 187.7; ii. 202.23; iii. 92.16, 144.29; iv. 12.27; vi. 434.16; *see also* cathedra
thuribulum, a censer: iii. 322.11, 328.1; iv. 102.30, 106.26
thus, frankincense: i. 135.33; iii. 250.27; iv. 106.26
tibia, shin-bone: ii. 46.1
tigris, tiger: vi. 110.15
timphanum, drum: v. 114.30
tinnitus, a ringing sound: iii. 224.32
tipice, allegorically: i. 143.28, 186.11; vi. 10.20, 458.11
tipicus, figurative, allegorical: ii. 296.3; vi. 384.4
tirannicus, tyrannical: iv. 234.28; vi. 276.17
tirannis, tyranny, arbitrary rule: i. 138.16; ii. 92.9, 138.5, 310.32; iv. 12.18, 158.29, 160.5, 228.27,

230.29, 274.7, 298.8; v. 16.8, 196.17, 252.10; vi. 34.33, 46.22, 156.5, 218.18, 306.28, 548.5

tirannus (sb.), tyrant, despot: i. 197.17; ii. 136.18, 144.12, 170.12, 190.9, 270.1, 340.10, 340.18; iii. 46.19, 194.18; iv. 12.23, 100.1, 148.26, 150.27, 200.21, 230.5, 296.20, 300.2, 300.18, 300.32; v. 44.11, 120.5, 232.29, 366.15, 372.22; vi. 30.14, 34.14, 46.31, 98.16, 110.22, 120.21, 124.33, 132.22, 156.4, 178.22, 266.24, 280.28, 286.18, 398.8, 502.4, 502.14, 502.18

tirannus (adj.), tyrannical: ii. 224.23

tiro, soldier, champion, non-enfeoffed vassal, knight: ii. 174.25, 206.7, 268.25, 318.25, 346.35; iii. 96.13, 98.6, 102.4, 112.1, 166.27, 188.2, 198.4, 242.18, 244.18; iv. 16.25, 40.24, 52.4, 88.12, 94.11, 100.14, 118.24, 132.27, 138.14, 154.32, 178.16, 200.17, 216.13, 218.24, 338.17; v. 214.9, 216.16, 282.10, 282.15, 282.31, 348.6; vi. 50.25, 80.7, 82.9, 108.19, 110.24, 136.4, 164.32, 248.13, 294.12, 302.14, 308.18, 342.1, 374.29, 430.19, 432.5, 544.11; *see also* eques, miles

tirocinium, knightly probation, prowess: iii. 180.19, 216.23; vi. 332.19

titaneus, of the sun, solar: vi. 436.16

togatus, clothed: iii. 8.5

tonitrus, tonitruum, thunder: i. 179.19; iii. 14.6; iv. 332.22; v. 30.3; vi. 82.30, 436.31, 544.17

tono, to thunder: i. 183.3; iv. 14.19; v. 358.13; vi. 386.14

tonsoro, to shave, tonsure: iii. 198.4; iv. 22.3; vi. 554.11

tonsura, (*1*) clerical tonsure: ii. 324.33; iii. 196.26; vi. 276.5; (*2*) cutting of hair: iv. 268.9

toparcha, a toparch: v. 120.9

topazion, topaz: v. 236.23

tortellus, a small loaf: iii. 328.4

toxico, to smear with poison: iv. 174.8

trabea, a robe: iii. 8.5

trabeatus, robed: i. 191.9; iv. 310.28, 336.30

trabs, beam, roof-timber: iii. 74.32, 354.18; v. 162.33

tractatus, (*1*) treatise: ii. 50.6; iv. 306.24; v. 286.17; (*2*) reflection, consultation, discussion: ii. 72.26, 310.12, 320.31; v. 240.20; vi. 364.5

tractus, (*1*) winding (of river): ii. 326.10; (*2*) region: v. 152.4

traditio, (*1*) treason: ii. 314.26, 314.34; *see also* infidelitas, perfidio, proditio; (*2*) tradition: i. 173.21; ii. 300.16; iv. 314.15, 332.34; v. 264.2

traditor, traitor, betrayer: i. 184.26; ii. 314.22, 314.28, 348.16; iii. 312.13; iv. 128.30, 134.5, 226.1; v. 124.25, 334.13, 336.14; vi. 22.23, 26.15, 26.18, 78.22, 82.19, 500.33; *see also* infidus, proditor

tragedia, tragedy: iv. 106.31

tragedus, tragedy: iv. 162.6

tranquillitas, serenity, tranquillity: ii. 208.15; iv. 196.8; v. 24.9, 320.10; vi. 126.11, 176.9, 182.26, 224.16, 256.4, 486.11

transalpinus, transalpine, from the other side of the Alps: iv. 26.11

transequanus, on the other side of the Seine: iv. 88.1

transfretatio, crossing of the sea: ii. 136.13, 210.2

transfreto, to cross the sea: i. 157.6; ii. 100.12, 140.4, 144.30, 170.7, 204.14, 214.16, 220.1,

transfreto (*cont.*):
270.20, 316.27; iii. 98.9, 214.28, 232.7; iv. 30.26, 40.15, 40.20, 52.17, 96.7, 122.6, 124.10, 138.9, 142.15, 142.25, 148.11, 176.26, 236.11, 250.5, 254.12, 268.26, 268.33; v. 32.9, 32.19 (bis), 36.3, 42.27, 46.21, 202.31, 208.18, 254.30, 274.27, 280.25, 304.15, 308.4, 314.3; vi. 12.29, 14.20, 30.22, 42.26, 50.24, 54.23, 56.10, 60.17, 68.15, 68.18, 134.7, 134.15, 142.31, 150.4, 224.11, 284.34, 294.12, 304.19, 306.18, 324.10, 332.35, 382.6, 444.3, 454.2, 456.23, 462.22, 478.14, 494.4, 514.20, 534.11, 538.7, 554.5

transfuga, a deserter: v. 38.14

transhumbranus, Northumbrian, north of the Humber: ii. 216.30, 232.5; iv. 94.8

translateralis, (?) neighbouring land: vi. 384.31

translatio, translation of relics: ii. 166.18, 242.15; iv. 54.30, 66.33, 68.28, 72.34; vi. 318.13

translator, one who translates relics: iv. 72.7

transmarinus, beyond the sea, coming from overseas: ii. 144.25, 208.24, 210.4, 248.2, 312.8, 324.7; iii. 218.21; iv. 178.32, 254.10; v. 304.16; vi. 286.7

transrenanus, beyond the Rhine: iii. 82.13

trenus, a lamentation, dirge: ii. 260.26; v. 170.20; vi. 50.19, 302.19; *see also* nenia

treuia Dei, truce of God: iii. 26.3, 32.13, 32.32; v. 12.25, 20.5, 20.22, 20.24; vi. 262.29

treuiæ (pl.), truce: ii. 106.7; v. 218.26, 258.20, 302.30; vi. 372.4, 372.17, 458.14, 458.16, 486.10, 512.32

tribunal, judgement seat: ii. 50.16; iii. 192.16

tribunus, leader, commander, officer, lord: i. 194.2; ii. 230.28, 260.13; iii. 254.29; iv. 154.30, 214.16, 276.24; v. 214.14, 340.11, 364.33, 366.22, 372.26; vi. 448.24, 466.16, 494.17

tributarius, one who pays tribute: vi. 310.6

tributum, tribute, fixed dues: ii. 56.19, 192.30, 212.7; iii. 90.19; vi. 172.12; *see also* uectigal

triclinium, a private room: vi. 294.5

tricorium, refectory: ii. 150.1; iii. 240.10; *see also* refectorium

triennalis, lasting three years: ii. 106.6; iv. 216.23; vi. 372.4

trifidus, divided into three parts: ii. 198.30

trigamus, a thrice-married man: iv. 230.19, 338.9

tripudianter, jubilantly: iv. 154.7

triturator, a thresher: vi. 524.18

triumphator, conqueror: v. 66.7, 128.1, 350.5, 364.35; vi. 92.28, 344.29, 354.35

triumpho, to triumph, celebrate a victory: ii. 306.13; iii. 262.6, 300.5; v. 4.26, 44.29, 74.21, 116.32, 126.25, 148.16, 188.8, 194.13, 208.41, 216.30, 260.18, 270.3, 322.16, 338.10, 350.4, 372.3; vi. 142.21, 234.23, 242.11, 280.8, 498.19, 502.14, 526.23

triumphus, a triumph, victory: i. 165.5; ii. 4.31, 226.12; iii. 46.33, 92.25; iv. 18.33, 90.10, 218.35, 276.28; v. 38.29, 106.30, 114.5, 116.8, 122.22, 174.1, 188.3, 268.23, 280.12, 344.3; vi. 104.24, 240.6, 460.9; *see also* tropheum

tronus, *see* thronus

tropharius, troper: ii. 108.13

tropheum, trophæum, a victory, trophy: ii. 170.16; iii. 144.8,

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trux, grim, stern: iv. 92.30; v. 368.28; vi. 256.29, 284.26, 406.19, 500.11, 512.20

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turrensis (adj.), of the garrison: vi. 538.19

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turritus, fortified with towers: v. 156.7

tutamen, tutamentum, defence, protection: v. 110.10; vi. 42.10; *see also* tuitio, tutela

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uindicta, vengeance, revenge, punishment: ii. 224.24; iv. 48.33, 134.21, 144.29, 158.7, 160.9, 198.25, 222.7, 226.10; v. 286.4,

334.28; vi. 18.2, 22.23, 212.1, 244.5, 384.9; *see also* ultio
uinea, vineyard, vine: i. 134.3, 134.5, 143.26, 143.32, 144.4, 162.34, 172.31; ii. 4.3, 4.27, 148.8; iii. 116.26, 126.7, 174.6, 180.30, 190.5, 194.19, 200.15, 200.22, 200.26, 202.7, 206.1, 358.35; iv. 48.8, 78.10, 156.22; v. 160.4, 242.6, 242.25, 260.15, 268.3; vi. 160.14, 168.19, 554.18; *see also* uinetum
uinetum, vineyard: iii. 222.21; v. 70.27; *see also* uinea
uinitor, a vine-dresser: iv. 330.8
uinum, wine: i. 184.27; ii. 252.1; iii. 174.27, 190.29, 202.6, 202.24, 202.26, 248.7, 278.3, 324.19; iv. 316.22; v. 92.20, 116.7, 144.34, 150.19, 274.12, 312.11; vi. 116.26, 118.38, 296.17, 296.18, 474.3, 526.13
uipereus, of a viper: vi. 450.25
uir, (*1*) a man: *passim*; (*2*) husband: ii. 54.13, 152.17, 158.15, 164.11, 218.34, 352.17; iii. 32.28, 132.20, 254.29, 256.9, 256.24, 256.26, 266.15; iv. 50.24, 260.8, 260.13, 282.28, 290.20, 338.6; v. 16.25, 324.23; vi. 114.8, 186.13, 186.15, 206.14; *see also* maritus; (*3*) vassal: ii. 214.15, 262.24; iv. 124.14; v. 68.12; *see also* homo
uirgata, virgate: iii. 236.4, 236.6, 236.7 (bis), 236.9, 236.14
uirgultum, (*1*) a copse: ii. 36.38; (*2*) a wattle: ii. 150.34; iii. 270.25
uiridiarium, orchard, garden, plantation of trees: ii. 78.2; iii. 172.24, 180.30, 230.25; vi. 90.9
uirilis, manly: i. 178.14; ii. 18.23, 58.12, 126.26, 178.10; iii. 324.8; iv. 152.3, 206.16, 292.30; v. 168.5, 348.5; vi. 38.7, 64.19, 66.1
uiriliter, valiantly, vigorously, manfully, strongly, boldly: i. 172.31; ii. 22.17, 64.19, 80.13, 86.32, 126.33, 144.6, 150.21, 170.6, 170.19, 184.20, 222.23, 276.2, 294.9, 306.9, 350.25; iii. 86.30, 96.23, 110.1, 138.22, 144.6, 146.8, 168.5, 182.3, 254.16, 260.33, 292.12; iv. 12.23, 16.20, 20.32, 60.16, 98.2, 104.4, 126.4, 136.1, 150.10, 168.13, 182.22, 208.24, 216.16, 222.7, 258.5; v. 18.8, 38.7, 46.36, 52.8, 52.23, 66.5, 70.20, 82.35, 102.19, 122.4, 138.1, 144.29, 146.12, 180.29, 232.10, 242.13, 278.3, 306.19, 336.13, 342.7, 348.12, 368.9, 368.33, 368.34; vi. 68.3, 74.18, 108.7, 112.32, 114.1, 124.17, 176.25, 182.21, 220.10, 222.15, 228.7, 234.28, 336.2, 408.3, 468.9, 498.25, 504.16, 526.4, 544.2, 546.19
uitreus, made of glass: iv. 58.16
uitricus, stepfather: ii. 130.31, 198.1; iii. 92.15; iv. 14.20, 98.8; vi. 192.1, 332.32
uitta, a fillet: iv. 188.36
uitulus, calf: iv. 228.6; vi. 188.1
uituperabiliter, blamably: iv. 324.19
uiuaciter, vigorously, with spirit: i. 165.3; iii. 226.28; v. 218.2, 290.26; vi. 164.12, 262.28, 342.1
uocatio, vocation, calling: ii. 242.20; iii. 4.10, 292.15; iv. 254.29; v. 352.30
uoraginosus, full of chasms: ii. 236.7
uulgaris (sb.), a simple person: i. 158.4; ii. 244.3; iv. 94.6
uulgaris (adj.), common, commonplace: iii. 180.35; v. 292.20; vi. 94.31, 96.9, 470.5
uulgo, commonly, generally: ii. 116.19, 230.9, 266.12, 304.10, 310.25, 356.25; iii. 26.3, 32.15, 156.8, 164.23, 218.5, 288.26; iv.

uulgo (*cont.*): 138.20, 186.18, 186.21, 228.25; v. 146.35, 154.17, 208.47; vi. 184.20, 280.22, 358.1, 464.33
uulgus, crowd, multitude, common people: iii. 14.19, 44.19, 268.2, 308.17; iv. 78.9, 106.25, 140.10, 268.10, 298.8, 332.18; v. 366.12; vi. 62.10, 96.8, 110.12, 300.18, 396.20, 456.2, 492.25, 526.10
uulnificus, wounding: ii. 86.29
uulpes, fox: iv. 124.28; v. 348.7; vi. 10.37

weridif, stray beast: iii. 32.15
werra, *see* guerra

xenium, *see* exenium
xenodochium, hospital, guest-house, alms-house: ii. 68.19, 68.23, 114.29; iii. 124.6, 262.4
xerofagus, an ascetic: iii. 8.22

ydolatra, an idolater, infidel: ii. 244.23; iii. 46.20, 86.24; v. 96.17; vi. 120.9, 400.23
ydolatria, idolatry: iii. 42.2; v. 16.4
ydolum, *see* idolum
ydropicus, dropsical: v. 280.21
ymnidicus, hymn-singing: iv. 146.9
ymnizo, to sing hymns: v. 150.10
ymnus, *see* hymnus
yperbolice, hyperbolically: iv. 190.30
yronicus, ironic: iv. 224.27
ystoria, *see* historia

zeta, watch-tower, chamber: iv. 156.4; v. 234.11, 258.34, 370.5; vi. 278.21